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This is the first of several Volumes on our Career Study. It was felt that it was important to begin circulating parts of this Report prior to completion of the work. We are proceeding to draft other sections and these will appear in subsequent Volumes. I would like to stress that the entire study will require changes when it is produced in total.

We have included a general Table of Contents so that you can place this volume in its context.

VOLUME I

Walter Dillman

SENIOR PUBLIC CIVIL SERVANTS AT MID-CAREER:

A STUDY OF ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS IN CANADA

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Meyer Brownstone

This present document represents the first six chapters of what will be a much longer report. It incorporates with revisions several documents that were previously given limited circulation.

December 10, 1966

SENIOR FEDERAL CIVIL SERVANTS AT MID-CAREER:
A STUDY OF ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS IN CANADA

Christopher Beattie
Jacques Désy
Stephen Longstaff

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December 20, 1966

O U T L I N E

Senior Federal Civil Servants At Mid-Career: A Study of English-French Relations In Canada

(The Career Study)

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"... to report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration... and to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration."

-- from the terms of reference
of the Royal Commission on Bi-
lingualism and Biculturalism

INTRODUCTION

A bilingual or "two nation" country of multi-ethnic origins, Canada has few institutions or shared cultural patterns which integrate her French and English speaking sectors. Such integrative institutions and activities that do exist are found mainly in certain areas of our political and economic life.

In politics federal institutions function as centres of power, making or abdicating from key decisions which affect the distribution of resources -- resources which are shared by both French and English speaking communities. As well, symbolic elements in politics can be crucial as integrative forces. For example, it matters that various titles and forms expressing an English-French duality are

visible in federal processes. Such symbolism contributes to keeping the two national communities together, even if the relationship is a loose and rather uneasy one.

In the economy the integrative factors are less symbolic and more concretely cooperative. Members of both language groups participate in an industrial labour market, and both within and between economic units the two groups cooperate to provide goods and services in a shared, country-wide economy.

Thus it is easy to grasp the obvious importance which the Federal Public Service (the F.P.S.) has for the political fate of bi-national Canada. As an integrative institution it is doubly crucial. First, in size and scope the F.P.S. is the largest single unit in the Canadian economy. Including the Crown Corporations and the Canadian Forces it employs close to 500,000 persons; and it provides services which are crucial to the functioning of the economy and which reach into the most diverse corners of the country's bi-national existence. Second, as a political institution the F.P.S. ranks behind only the cabinet and the House of Commons as a power broker, and as a focus of symbolic importance. The federal administration must be attuned to the diverse interests of the Canadian population and its operations are

assessed in this light. Thus it cannot be seen as just another economic unit. Its activity has meaning for both French and English-speaking Canadians far beyond mere considerations of what decisions are made or what product is produced. How the F.P.S. does things (i.e. who it engages, where it operates, what language is used) is as important as what it does.

How well does the F.P.S. reflect the duality of Canadian society? In the broadest sense this is the problem with which the study began. The problem can be posed in other ways. What is the nature of French and English participation in the federal administration? More specifically: What types of French and English-speaking persons become public servants? Which background characteristics influence the course of public service careers? Who moves up, who gets bogged down, who leaves, and why? What are the key technological and social aspects of various F.P.S. work settings, and how do these aspects shape the careers of job holders? How do English and French-speaking public servants regard their careers and work relations? Are they heartened by the recent "B" and "B" ferment, indifferent to it, or troubled by it?

The foregoing suggests the basic problem areas the Study has addressed. It is an eclectic lot. This research attempts to analyse and report upon an institution very much in flux. It is a flux based on both the expanding role the public now generally expects of government, and, most important, the demands that the federal administration offer working conditions that are equally attractive to all Canadians with the requisite skills. The latter has typically been defined as the increasing need to alter established styles of work so that French speakers will be drawn into federal employment and adjust to it more productively.

In the midst of this flux, we attempted to find a fairly stable point of departure from which to launch the research. The unit chosen for analysis was the career. A career is an orderly sequence of positions or stages that arise within an area of work or work organization. Sectors of an organization may be created, enlarged, or relocated to meet the public demands but the career routes within them persist, albeit with expanded or contracted horizons. New promotion or language use policies may be introduced, but they are tailored to particular career specialties. Hence, it is career types that are the basic building - blocks of the federal administration. This emphasis pertained from the outset of the research and led the project to be dubbed the Career Study.

SECTION ONE
RESEARCH AIMS AND DESIGN

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In spite of its position at the centre of Canadian society, the federal bureaucracy has received scant attention. However, both journalistic and scholarly writers in recent years have shown new interest in it. Writings on two problem areas, in particular, have provided insights. The first of these areas concerns the development of what might be termed bureaucratic rationalization; the second concerns the power and prestige structure of the F.P.S.

Bureaucratic Rationalization

The history of the development of the F.P.S. is one of continual, if piece-meal, expansion, and of increasing operational independence from patronage considerations and other political pressures. These themes have been well covered by political scientists¹ and have even become absorbed in the positive ideology surrounding the public service career -- explaining, in part, why the relatively inflexible system of appointment and promotion on the basis of paper qualifications and written examinations is widely supported.

1. See, for example, R.M. Dawson, The Government of Canada, 1948.

Bureaucratic rationalization has also meant political neutrality on the part of the elite. While this assumption has been challenged by some writers who have suggested a too close working relationship between senior public servants and Liberal cabinets,¹ generally the received image of the Canadian federal bureaucracy casts it in the British rather than the American mould. When governments change, the senior cadres stay on to serve new political masters. Allegedly competence and neutrality make for "behind the scenes" indispensability.

These conceptions of bureaucratic rationalization hold a good deal of accuracy; they have also been valuable in a narrow political sense. There is little doubt that realization of the increased rationalization of F.P.S. operations has curbed politicians from patronage excesses and the more blatant forms of special pleading common in earlier decades. Governmental organization clearly has developed over the years into a more effective instrument for realizing federal goals.

1. Cf. Eugene Forsey, "Parliament Is Endangered...", Saturday Night, Oct. 9, 1948. Also J.E. Hodgetts, "Liberals and Bureaucrat", Queen's Quarterly, Summer 1955.

But the great lacunae of writings on the F.P.S. concern bureaucratic pathologies other than those associated with rationality. There have been few if any detailed investigations of the federal administration as a "representative bureaucracy" -- that is, the extent to which in both leadership and mass membership it reflects the regional,¹ ethnic, and religious composition of the Canadian population. Nor have there been studies of the ways that such elements have or have not been co-opted into leadership and policy-making positions in order to avert threats to political stability.² Another neglected area involves the language of work: What have been the successes and failures of a largely unilingual bureaucracy serving a population divided in language.

Doubtless further areas of neglect could be mentioned, but it is sufficient to point out that the emphasis on rationality has had one unfortunate result: the deflection of academic thinking and public discussion away from an evaluation of the "bicultural character of the federal administration." The Career Study and other Commission researches attempt to fill this gap.

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1. A notable exception is John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, pp. 440-443, 449-451.
 2. Ibid., p. 442.

Power Structure

There are strong grounds to propose three different levels in the F.P.S. each with its characteristic career types. (These, like all models, play off the disadvantage of oversimplification against the advantage of an economy of expression in the hope that the latter will prevail.) These will be called the elite, the sub-elite, and the non-officer level. The boundaries and distinctions between the first two and the last one are quite clear and fairly impenetrable. The non-officer level contains persons of low education and pay doing routine operations. Officer status demands high educational qualifications, offers high pay, and requires tackling a variety of problems. But, at the senior level, the boundary between the sub-elite and the elite is much less clear, although it can be roughly established.

(a) The Non-Officer "Caste"

The lower levels of the civil service approach being a caste, in that there is little career mobility from non-officer ranks to the senior levels. It is unlikely that persons of unskilled, semi-skilled, and clerical positions will move from this level. However, within this stratum, they can develop their own career routes and experience upward career mobility.

In certain regional offices and in Ottawa, non-British and non-English-speaking groups are over-represented at this level. Hence, not only are they barred from moving into the policy-making levels, they are also required to compete strenuously with their fellows for the lesser rewards.

In addition, the recruitment for these positions is done primarily from the local labour market; it is unlikely that a national competition will be used. If they are recruited in a regional office, then there is meagre possibility that they will be able to transfer to the better positions at "headquarters" in Ottawa. Transfer is reserved for the officers.

Since neither major decisions are made nor persons with high-powered career skills are found at this level, it is of minor importance from the standpoint of participation in governing. Also, the representation of French and other minorities is quite high when such persons abound in the local labour market. So, the complaint of under-representation does not have to be raised. On both these counts, then the non-officer level does not require further consideration.

(b) The Bureaucratic Elite

The documentary basis for observing the distinction between the elite and the sub-elite is provided by observers both from within and without the Civil Service. They identify a cluster of people possessing the key policy-making posts in the public service. At the core of this group are the "Mandarins", persons who work directly with the federal politicians in creating national policy. Set apart from the policy-making elite, is the departmental sub-elite of administrators and specialists who transform the general policies handed down by the elite into specific actions.

One study conducted in 1953, located 207 persons in the bureaucratic elite at the deputy minister (41 people), assistant or associate deputy minister (89 people) and director (77 people) levels or their equivalents.¹ This count by John Porter was largely made up of senior officials from the departments proper but also included the commissioners and chairmen of the boards and commissions closely linked to these departments.

1. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, pp. 433-448, 608-613.

About a quarter of the elite were "parachuted" into their position without having had a previous career in the public service. However, about one-half of the elite group were career men who had spent more than half their working lives in the Civil Service. But, only a quarter of the total elite had spent their complete careers in the service. This lack of persons who contribute a life-time to government service and the tendency to import outsiders into top positions reveals an apparent blockage in careers leading into the elite from the sub-elite.

In the over-all bureaucratic elite, the French, although under-represented, do occupy a number of key posts. Of the elite members about whom biographical material was available, about 13-14% were French Canadian although this group made up 30% of the population. Of some significance is that almost all of these were above the director level. They made up 19% of the total at the Deputy and Assistant/Associate Deputy Minister level.

The continued strategic presence of French at the senior levels is borne out by a rough count of French names on a list assembled by the Protocol Branch, Secretary of State entitled "Relative Precedence of High Officials of the

Public Service at Ottawa". The roster, although dated September 1, 1966, has been revised up to October 15, 1966. Two major groups are identified:

1. Chief officers of the Public Service, Deputy Ministers, Chief of the Defence Staff, former deputy ministers who are public service officials, certain officials having the rank of deputy minister and heads of government boards, commissions, corporations, and agencies in Ottawa.

Total number of names = 85
Number of French names = 21

Percentage of French Names = 24.7%

2. Associate Deputy Ministers and members of government boards, commissions, corporations and agencies in Ottawa.

Total number of names = 85
Number of French names = 21

Percentage of French Names = 24.7%

At both levels, apparently a quarter of the persons bear French names. Although this is still an under-representation of French if the total population is taken as a base line, it does provide evidence of a sizeable French presence in the upper reaches of the federal bureaucracies. However, as we shall see shortly, this situation does not pertain in the inner core of the administrative elite.

Other Canadian ethnic groups, with the exception of Jews, are scarcely represented at all in the upper public service.

Although all or most of these men dwell in the world of policy-making, of especial interest is the small core who daily, actively participate with cabinet officials in the shaping of government policy. This is the Mandarinate.

An insider's view is provided by A.F.W. Plumptre a former Assistant Deputy Minister of Finance who speak of:

...a small segment of the public service, consisting of the Mandarins, the sub-Mandarins, and the sub-deputy-assistant Mandarins - in short that select group of the public service that is closely associated with the formulation as well as the execution of government policy. It is to be numbered not by the hundred perhaps not even by the score, but only by the dozen.¹

Journalistic outsider, Peter Newman has also identified² the Mandarins and Sub-Mandarins. He located a group of 18 acting civil servants who in 1964 formed the inner circle of the Ottawa Establishment. "Anyone who becomes an under-secretary of state for External Affairs or a deputy or assistant deputy minister of Finance qualifies automatically since

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1. A.F.W. Plumptre, "Regionalism and the Public Service", Canadian Public Administration, 8 (December, 1965), p. 548.
 2. Peter C. Newman, "The Ottawa Establishment", Maclean's, August 22, 1964.

these two departments are the main repositories of the bureaucratic power that influences overall government policies." ¹ On this score, the only French Canadian in the group, Marcel Cadieux of External Affairs, gained membership.

Of note is that 12 of the 18 men were or had been in the Department of Finance, a veritable WASP's nest described by one of its own officers as a "Scottish Mafia". It is clearly the major centre of bureaucratic power in Canada. A later chapter of this report will examine how Finance selects and develops persons for membership in the elite.

The writings of Porter and Newman have increased recognition of the power and influence enjoyed by a small group of trusted insiders who have made their ways into the upper reaches of the F.P.S. The portrayal of these elite members is one of recruitment from mainly upper-middle-class backgrounds; graduate work, especially in economics, politics, or history, usually in Britain; and a strong possibility of university teaching either somewhere in the past or projected

1. Ibid., p. 30.

for the future.¹ Concerning the current life styles of this group, Porter and Newman stress the professionalization of the role of advising governments. There is a strong orientation toward intellectual values and relative isolation from worlds other than the university and the Ottawa political community.

How much do the Porter and Newman discussions contribute to our understanding of the F.P.S.? We must admit, a great deal. But they carry (for our purposes) the limitations of neglecting certain aspects of career mobility and power relations in the public service.

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1. One of the major difficulties of Porter's discussion of the "bureaucratic elite" is his lumping of both departmental Deputies and Assistant Deputies with the major directors of crown corporations. There is no question that the latter group has considerable influence. But unlike some key public servants this influence is usually confined to a specific industry or sector of the economy. Also in both career style and in living style the Crown corporation group is closer to the business elite. Their appointments often involve patronage factors; their remuneration is a significant cut above the most senior public servant's. Porter by mixing the two groups for analytic purposes considerably dilutes his picture of the homogeneity of background and career patterns of the F.P.S. elite.

Career Mobility

As a federal institution the civil service is supposed to be equally accessible and to offer equal opportunity to all Canadians of comparable ability. It contains a boggling array of careers that follow a fairly typical pattern: the person moves from less to more desirable and responsible positions, and the flow is usually but not necessarily related to age and skill. This pattern is referred to as career mobility, the movement from a lower to a higher position in the course of one's career. According to this ideal pattern, a person is promoted by virtue of his qualifications and demonstrated competence. As long as he maintains or improves his level of performance, upward movement proceeds apace.

But ideals are seldom realized. Ability alone is not enough to propel a person into the upper-levels of an organization. On the basis of certain factors - sex, age, mother tongue, ethnicity, religion, and personal contacts are the most important - some persons move upwards while others of equal or superior ability are retarded. The operation of such informal, unstated factors in assisting some to negotiate the stages of a career more successfully than others is well-known. Experiencing career blockage, or

the lack of it, in one's worklife is a fateful determinant of behavior and attitudes. This is particularly true in those industrial societies where the ideas of equal opportunity, personal achievement, and competitive individualism are fostered. Persons who do attain a measure of success are driven on for more; those who do not succeed and perhaps even skid downwards become resigned to their fate or alienated from the system. Hence an examination of career mobility, as well as its attendant failures - persons who are side-tracked, stalled, blocked or defeated - offers insight into men's strivings and aspirations.

Careers within the elite involve movement from one high post to another. A person often circulates among several departments or other governmental units in the course of his worklife. An examination of career mobility at his level must remember that roughly half of these in the bureaucratic elite are likely to have spent more than half their worklife in government service, much of it at the sub-elite level. Thus a change in the composition of the sub-elite could, in time, affect the elite. But not only is the sub-elite a talent pool from which a small quantity is drained to nourish the elite. More importantly, it harbors a vast range of attractive career possibilities that do not lead into the

elite. Although the elite and access to it are of great importance in policy-making, the sub-elite level is numerically of far greater consequence.

The chief features that differentiate the sub-elite from the elite are the following. 1. The majority of the people at this level never will enter the elite and do not aspire to do so. 2. Although some of the group are administrative generalists, most are specialists of one kind or another: engineers, biologists, lawyers, computer programmers, translators, and so on. 3. They tend to spend their careers in one or two departments whereas the elite or prospective elite tend to undergo regular inter-departmental movement. 4. Their work motivations are different from the elite. This last point requires further comment.

Those in the sub-elite live out their career largely in one department and hence their outlook is "local", if not "parochial", bounded by their department. Below the elite level, most departments are fairly self-contained bodies, each offering a range of complete careers. Career mobility is specific to each department for those in the sub-elite. Hence, these specialists are motivated to carve

out a career within the confines of a single department. The characteristics of the particular department - its formal structure, history, ethos, - explain much about the behaviour of the sub-elite within it.

At this level, few persons envisage the possibility of reaching the elite, most are in careers that do not lead that high. But their jobs contain enough challenge to make many consider them long-term propositions rather than simply stepping-stones to a career in the private sector. Those that leave do so because the work is not satisfying or their career not secure. They do not leave because they have lost the race for elite positions. The important features of careers at this level, then, are that the person feels secure and in control of his own fate, and that he foresees some future gains, however slight. When the department contains orderly career routes in which persons can fulfill their cherished ambitions, then the personnel will be committed to their work. Conversely, the existence of uncertainty and career blockages leads to alienation and thoughts of leaving the system.

Consideration of mobility leads to a host of questions, all of them central to the Career Study: How "open" is the F.P.S. bureaucracy? From where in the class structure do

its incumbents come, and what sorts of work histories have they had? To what extent are men recruited and promoted on the basis of education and objectively demonstrated competence -- to what extent on more subtle factors, i.e. ethnicity, religion, sex, friendships, which may be irrelevant to performance? Porter, in particular, does touch on some of these problems, but only insofar as they are related to the selection of the elite.¹ For any evaluation of the "openness" of the federal bureaucracy we need to focus equally on those processes which produce sub-elite public servants.

Informal Power Structure

Here again the Porter-Newman focus needs broadening. Elite members do wield substantial power, but this is in the wider, societal arena; it has to do with distributing resources and realizing general goals. Looking at the internal structure of the F.P.S., the extent of the power of the elite over middle and lower ranks is not clear. Received theory does stress the greater rationality of modern bureaucracies, but it also stresses informal arrangements among lower participants that result in the deflection of the organization from the rational pursuit of its goals and the erection of new goals.²

1. John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, pp. 440-42.

2. Reinhard Bendix, "Bureaucracy: The Problem and The Setting", American Sociological Review, vol. 12, Oct., 1947, p. 503.

With its basic interest in "B and B" problems the Career Study has taken internal power relations as problematic. We found it necessary to probe conceptions and ideologies held by public servants of both the F.P.S. and work in general, and to see how these are used to the advantage of different ethnic, departmental, and occupational interest groups. That the F.P.S. is in a transition period calls to the attention of many such groups their stake in the system. The situation is complex: as much as we find change in the air, we also find resistance stiffening. In short, we have assumed that the possibilities of future transformation of the F.P.S. in large part will depend on understanding the internal power realities.

As a consequence of these latter considerations about career mobility and the informal power arrangements in the F.P.S., we decided to focus the Career Study on the sub-elite.

Ethnic and Minority Relations

This present work is also a study of ethnic groups. An ethnic group consists of those persons who share a common ancestry. In Canadian terms, an ethnic group is the nationality or cultural group to which the person or their

male ancestors belonged before coming to this continent.¹
 The "mother country" of the person or his male forebearers is the determinant of ethnic origin in Canada. Of course, many people identify themselves as "Canadian", but they too have historic roots that place them in an ethnic category.

At base then, ethnic membership is an objective characteristic of an individual. It is an ascribed trait.²
 It is acquired automatically at birth and is beyond individual control. It is in the same category as other identifying traits gained at birth - sex, race, family name, position in a kinship network - or due to the biological constitution of the person (age, body build). Such traits, especially the more visible ones of sex, age, and race are strategic determinants of behavior and condition the manner in which a person is treated by others. The less visible traits - family name, ethnic membership - at certain times loom large in one's social conduct.

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1. This is the definition of ethnic origin that is used in the Census of Canada.
 2. See the useful discussion of ascribed and achieved status in Kingsley Davis, Human Society, New York, The MacMillan Co., 1948, pp. 96-117.

The manner in which a person identifies himself or conceives of himself, regardless of the accuracy of his beliefs, is a matter of crucial importance. What he does or does not do depends largely upon his conception of himself. A sense of ethnic background can become part of his identity.¹ When a person becomes aware of his ethnic origin, then this social category becomes subjectively experienced and is used as a reference point in deciding how and when to act.

Persons who share a common ancestry can also come to conceive of themselves as part of a larger collectivity and become so regarded by others. Along with an enhanced sense of group awareness they obtain a perception of common interests, begin increasing communication with fellow members, and promote a mutual regard for certain traditions. Expressions of solidarity are made. In short, an objective ascribed trait becomes the foundation for an awakened collective awareness.

The sense of common cause varies from one ethnic group to another. Some possess virtually no "consciousness of kind"; others make it the mainspring of their lives.

1. Tamotsu Shibutani and Kiang M. Kwan, Ethnic Stratification New York: The MacMillan Co., 1965, p. 41.

Certain Canadian ethnic groups are acutely aware of the boundaries between themselves and outsiders. They have a strong sense of common ancestry - supported often by a distinctive language and culture. The Jews, Italians, Doukhobours, and French-Canadians would fall at this pole. On the other hand, there is a rather hazy sense of distinctiveness among other Canadian ethnic categories. Many persons who are third and fourth generation removed from ties to one of the nationalities of the British Isles (English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh) have meagre ties to historic roots. They are among those most likely to state they are "Canadians".

Hence, ethnic groups may range from being a statistical category to a point where the category has become an organized social network.

However, not only is this a study of ethnic groups but also it is an examination of ethnic relations: the encounters within various organizations between persons from different ethnic groups. The meeting places under consideration here are several departments of the Canadian Civil Service. In government departments the encounters are of a typical sort: a dominant British group confronts minority groups of French, middle-European, Jewish, or other national backgrounds.

A minority is usually smaller in numbers than the¹ dominant group. But this is not the strategic factor. A minority is a subordinate segment in a society, a segment which bears physical characteristics or possesses and wishes to preserve cultural, religious, ethnic, or linguistic traditions markedly different from those of the rest of the society. Because of these physical characteristics or traditions they are "singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination.... Minority status carries with it the exclusion from full participation in the life of the society."²

Ethnic minorities are but one type of minority. Religions, races, linguistic groups, political groups, or possessors of a distinctive culture have, at various times and places, become set apart as minority groups. Ethnic allegiance, as well as these other ties or traits can be marked as differences which disqualify persons from favorable recognition by the dominant segments of the society.

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1. In numbers, a group may be larger than the dominant group and still have minority status. The position of the Negro population in several countries in Africa or various regions of the Southern United States are cases in point.
 2. Louis Wirth, Community Life and Social Policy, edited by E.W. Marvick and A.J. Reiss, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956, pp. 237-60.

In Canada, the ethnic majority-minority relations are complicated by two further considerations.

On the one side, the British and the French are supposed to be co-equal founders of the Canadian nation. They are each a "charter group". That is to say, they were the first into previously unpopulated or disorganized areas - areas which may be either a territory or a work area - and gained effective possession.¹ Being the first in, they obtain the prerogative of deciding who else will be let in and what they will be allowed to do. The French and the British established dominance over the later arrivals to Canada. One rough indicator of this is numerical dominance.

Historical figures on the origin composition of Canada's population reveal that although the proportion of non-British, non-French groups has more than tripled since Confederation, this "third force" is still greatly outnumbered by the two major groups.² In the census of 1881, persons of British origins comprised 59% of the population

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1. This usage is taken from John Porter who, in turn, borrows it from Oswald Hall. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, p. 60.
 2. These facts are gleaned from Census of Canada, 1951, Volume 10, pp. 135-137 and Census of Canada, 1961 1-2-5.

while the French made up 30 per cent. The remaining eleven per cent was more than half of German origin. Since 1881, the third groups have undergone a large proportional increase so that in 1961 they included 25.8% of the population.

The proportion of the population comprising persons from the British Isles has been steadily declining while the French have remained stable over time. In 1961, the British group were 43.8% of the population, a decline of about 15% since 1881. Persons of French origins, on the other hand, have consistently made up about 30% of the population since Confederation. But, despite the relative decline in British numbers, the two groups continue to contain nearly three-quarters of Canadian residents. By being the first to gain control over Canada, and by sheer weight of numbers, the British and French share a dominant position.

However, the British charter group controls more national resources than the French.¹ The largest economic firms are British dominated. In the unions, the French are segregated into La Confédération des Syndicats nationaux (C.S.N.) and hence, have little say in the international and national unions which dominate the Canadian industrial scene. They are under-represented at the most senior levels

1. The following is a summary statement of the findings of John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic.

of the federal public service. However, in the political sphere French leaders have ruled Québec, and, through a series of coalitions between French and English at the federal level, the French Canadians have made their presence felt in national government policy.

This lack of power in several institutional areas in the face of an acknowledged charter group status has made many French Canadians uneasy. They desire to make their power position commensurate with their charter status. They are striving to deny their minority position.

The second consideration is the language difference between the superordinate British and the French minority. Since Confederation two "official languages" have been recognised in Canada. Legislation has required that federal institutions maintain a bilingual character. Immigrants to Canada soon learned that they would have to take on one or other of these languages in order to fit into the Canadian labour market. This has resulted in the development and persistence of two linguistic communities within Canada.

But, if communication is the mechanism that draws people together, then a language difference produces separateness. The communications "gap" between English and

French has impeded their mingling in the centres of power. The common understandings and ease in social intercourse that marks the relations between equals seldom emerge when persons do not speak the same language. The British, the appointing group, do not naturally bring in someone who does not share their culture, unless he possesses extraordinary attractions.

Hence, although the French are recognised as a founding charter group they do not participate fully in this role. In large part, this is because their language differs from that of the English-speaking majority who dominate the national elites.

To expose the majority-minority situation in the F.P.S., the Career Study adopted two schemes of analysis. On the one hand, it is possible to examine and compare persons of different ethnic origin or mother tongue (the language a person first learnt in childhood and still understands. This may differ from the language which one currently uses.) Here three or more categories are involved: 1. French (ethnic origin or mother tongue), 2. British origins or English mother tongue, 3. Other origins or mother tongues. On the other hand, it is possible to divide the population into two groups according to the linguistic community towards

which they are oriented. One group, the "English" includes those who participate primarily in an English cultural world. A person who usually speaks English at home, has a wife and most of his close friends drawn from the English community, and lives in an English neighbourhood would be included. Here would fall all those of British origins or English mother tongue, plus those of French, or Other origin and mother tongue who identify themselves and are treated as "English".

The second group, the "French" includes those who participate quite extensively in a world of French language and culture. Persons of French, Other, and even British origins or English mother tongue who speak French outside of work and, as much as possible, at work, whose wife and best friends are often French, and who may live in a part of the city where the French language predominates are placed here. They pass much of their lives in a French milieu. Using this second schema, we are able to divide the F.P.S. into two segments.

For most purposes a comparison between those identified as either English or French will suffice. It is pertinent to know the significant differences between these two major

language groups. However, for some limited purposes the sample will be decomposed so that the place of the "third force" can be assessed. With these two strategies, it is hoped that the position of the various minority groups vis-à-vis the dominant British or English group can be canvassed more thoroughly.

CHAPTER 2

THE STUDY DESIGN

The research objective was to get to the core of English - French differences in effective participation in the F.P.S. Such a goal requires an examination of the past experiences of persons in the two linguistic groups and of the present forces and pressures building up within the federal administration. To do this, attitudes, stereotypes, and clichés about English - French relations had to be addressed. Like all clichés they are ever shifting and often contradictory, yet, they usually contain a good measure of accuracy. Indeed, they become something of a "self-fulfilling prophecy": what public servants believe to be true about their organization results in those beliefs being acted upon and becoming partially established as fact.

Thus the major research task was to cut through the conceptions that both insiders and outsiders have of the F.P.S. and English - French relations within it. A major survey of the upper reaches of the Civil Service is one of the best ways of getting beyond the stereotypes. Here reside intelligent, skilled persons who daily are concerned with

National problems. By calling upon their experiences and feelings we felt that we could come closer to gauging the gravity and extent of Canada's linguistic or cultural problems.

Also, the federal government draws talented persons from all regions and ethnic backgrounds into its employ. It represents a massive stage on which to view ethnic contacts. Here, there is the daily mixing of persons of diverse backgrounds in a great variety of work setting. We set out to look in on a wide range of work places each with its own peculiar combination of work tasks and ethnic or linguistic groups. By examining work settings with differing linguistic and occupational components, it becomes possible to identify factors conducive to harmony or tension.

A survey of a wide range of work settings and career types was in order. But this still left hard decisions to make: which work milieu, what sort of survey, what specific population to study? Also we realized that a survey couldn't provide all the answers; nor would it be of use unless it was informed by a knowledge of the formal structure of the F.P.S. Hence other methods of data collection were needed.

Selection of Units for Study

At the outset it was decided that such a study could not encompass the whole F.P.S. It was decided to focus only on Government departments, that is, those units directly represented in the Prime Minister's Cabinet by a Minister. This meant the exclusion of a host of agencies, commissions, and Crown Corporations from the purview of the Career Study. In addition, the military was not studied here.

The selection of departments was done on a purposive rather than random basis. The aim was to choose five departments that, to the fullest extent possible, represent the variety of departmental structures and operations. The five selected were Finance, Agriculture, Public Works, National Revenue (Taxation Division), and Secretary of State. The rationale for picking these five departments will be treated at much greater length in the next chapter.

A Bi-Focal Approach

It was decided to conduct the survey of departments with a double-barrelled emphasis. Each department studied was subjected first to an examination of its formal structure and then, second, an assortment of persons were asked about their experiences within the structure. The first stage

became known as the "Public Administration Survey" and the second as the "Sociological Survey". The chosen departments were contacted through their Deputy Ministers who were given an outline of the proposed project explaining its dual emphasis. (Appendix I).

The Public Administration part involved a series of interviews with key senior personnel during the Summer and Fall of 1965.¹ Usually all those at the level of Assistant Deputy Minister or Branch head level were interviewed, as well as the directors of key Divisions. Each interview was unstructured; any topic related to English - French relations was probed. Generally, the officials were glad to talk about the climate of bilingualism in the F.P.S. and particularly, their department - how it had changed if at all, and how it might change.

However, there were some specific topics that the interviewers pursued. They attempted to discover the organization of the department, the participation of various ethnic and linguistic groups within it, and the nature of clientele of the department. The problems in recruitment, in-service training, and promotion of English and French-speaking personnel were raised.

1. The interview team consisted of Professor Wes Bolstad, Miss Maureen Appel, and Professor Peter Pitsiladis.

Guided with the findings about departmental practices, the Sociological Survey could proceed. But obviously we could not cover all those in the sub-elite. Research objectives dictated a more limited focus, one which would concentrate on those persons most implicated in the current ferment.

The Target Population

In the first place we were interested in officers at mid-career. That is to say, we concentrate on persons who have reached a point where they have several years of their work-life either outside or inside government service behind them and now face the prospect of a lifetime career in the federal administration. These are senior but young men who expect the future to be one of advancement. We wanted to know who was committed to government work and would likely stay on, as well as who was stymied, discouraged, or planned on leaving.

To insure that only persons of officer status were included, everyone in the department making less than sixty-two hundred dollars (\$6,200.00) a year was eliminated. No upper limit on salary was set. This meant that we would corral only those who had professional or technical expertise,

or a senior administrative post. In short, we wanted to get those who represented the dominant ethos of their department. They do not usually wield substantial power, but most have a chance to become important men. Some few will eventually make it to the elite.

A second consideration involved the stage of the career. On the one hand this meant avoiding those not likely to be settled on an occupational choice. Twenty-five was the lower age limit chosen. On the other hand, we sought to exclude those who had reached the upper limits of their capacities, those who had settled into bureaucratic ruts, and those generally too old to contemplate making a major career change. Hopefully, an upper age limit of forty-five would eliminate many of these.

A third restriction on the focus was a geographic one. We studied only civil servants working in the National Capital area (Ottawa-Hull). However, since the vast majority of key senior posts in the departments are located in the Ottawa-Hull region, this is not a severe limitation.

Hence the Sociological Survey concentrated its attention on senior civil servants, i.e., those earning more than \$6,200 per annum, at mid-career (25 to 45 years of age) who worked in the Ottawa-Hull region. Each of the selected

departments was requested to provide the Career Study with a list of all their personnel falling within these boundaries. It was felt that the reception given bilingualism in the F.P.S. in the future and the character of the service as a multi-ethnic institution will largely be an outcome of the actions of these persons.

Research Contact

In order to provide detailed and statistically based generalizations about the target population, survey research was in order. But what type of survey? A survey instrument was required to tap the full details of a respondent's educational and work history, and cover as well the values, attitudes, and perceptions with which he viewed his present job situation. Detailed and uninhibited responses from our civil servant respondents were the type of material needed.

(a) Personal Interview

To elicit data of this type we decided on a personal interview which involved standardized questions that were asked of all respondents. Many of the questions contained suggested "probes" that the interviewer could use as a

follow-up to the original question in order to gain more detail from the respondent. Some of the question items contained in the interview schedule were developed in French; most originated in English. The translation was done by members of the Career Study team. After pre-testing, a number of questions were dropped or reformulated and a final version of the schedule developed. It is presented in Appendix 2.

The French and English versions are the same save in areas covering language ability and usage. Here the English were asked questions about the amount of ability they felt they had in the French language and the degree to which they used or thought they could use French in their work. The French respondents were asked similar questions about their capacity in and use of English.

The interview began with a review of the respondent's education and work experience outside the F.P.S. It then went on to cover their reasons for joining the civil service and the various posts held in the course of their work with the government. A number of questions dwelt on attitudes and perceptions about the civil service as a workplace. Here, the person was asked about the ways and means to success

in the civil service. There was a section on language usage and inter-ethnic relations. Another section covered attitudes toward the recent emphasis on bilingualism in the civil service. The interview finished with a series of questions on how the public servant viewed the Ottawa-Hull region as a place to live and work.

After completion of the interview, the respondents were handed a short questionnaire to fill in. It elicited additional information about the respondent's birthplace, father, marital status, religious and other associational memberships, second language skills, and several other topics.

All told the interview and questionnaire took two hours on the average to be completed. Many, however, lasted over three hours when good rapport was obtained.

(b) Telephone Interview

Several months after the interviewing was completed it was decided to get in touch again with most of the original English respondents by telephone.¹ A short interview schedule was drawn up on a specific topic. The topic was French lessons. The questions asked if the

1. Because of lack of time, the English respondents from Secretary of State were not phoned.

respondent had recently taken a course in French or was doing so now, and, if so, what made him decide to learn French. Those without experience in a French course were asked if they planned to enroll in one in the future. Again, the reasons for their decision were probed. The questions used in the telephone interview are presented in Appendix 3.

Sample Selection

The original plan was to draw a sample of about thirty French and thirty English from the lists provided by the departments. When the lists arrived it became clear that the plan would have to be modified in several cases. In Table 2.1 the size of the French and English¹ population, and where necessary the random sample selected from it for interviewing, falling within the established age and salary boundaries in each department is shown. The text will explain the deviations from the original design.

-
1. Whether a person was French or English was determined by checking the departmental lists for those with French names, and, on some lists, mother tongue. A check was made with a departmental official to ascertain if any had been missed. When contact was made by phone to set up an interview, a few persons were discovered who spoke little or no French and identified completely with the English-speaking community. These were included with the English. The English, then, includes persons whose original language is English but also persons of French or other tongues who now participate primarily in an English cultural world. However, for some of the following analysis, these two major groups will be decomposed to reveal their ethnic and mother tongue make-up.

TABLE 2.1

Linguistic Composition of the Population and Sample Drawn From It of Persons Between 25 and 45 years of Age and Earning \$6,200 or more Annually Working in the Ottawa-Hull Area in Selected Federal Departments.

	ENGLISH		FRENCH		TOTAL Population
	Population	Sample	Population	Sample	
Secretary of State	114	38	57	33	171
Finance	48	28	6	6	54
Agriculture	279	37	28	28	307
Public Works	173	32	28	28	201
National Revenue	154	33	33	33	187
	768	168	152	128	920

It should be emphasized that when it was necessary to draw a sample, persons were chosen at random so that each individual in the population had an equal chance of being interviewed. However, there were four departments where all the French in the target population were interviewed (Finance, Agriculture, Public Works, National Revenue).

In the Secretary of State 114 English-speaking persons were found within the age and salary limits. A random sample of 29 persons was interviewed, then, several months later,

an additional group of 9 was selected for interviews. Several hypotheses about the Secretary of State had arisen from the first set of interviews and it was felt that a re-entry into the department would permit the clarification of these ideas. Thus, a total of 38 English people were interviewed, 33 per cent of the total English population.

The same procedure was followed with the French in Secretary of State. An original sample of 29 was interviewed but this included five Translators who worked in Montreal. Since the study was designed to focus on the Ottawa region, these Translators have been excluded from statistical results. However, in a few instances, in order to understand the perception of federal employment held by French Canadians the results of these interviews will be introduced. To the remaining 24 cases, a second sample of 9 French was added several months later bringing the final total to 33 respondents which is 58 per cent of all French Canadians in the relevant population.

In the Department of Finance, 48 English-speaking were found within the age and salary limits. A sample of 28 was randomly chosen for interviewing. In percentage terms this means that 58 per cent of eligible English respondents were interviewed.

On the French side in Finance only 6 persons fell within the population. Four additional persons were located within the appropriate age range but below the minimum salary standard. They include two Finance Officers (grades 1 and 2), an Economist 1, and an Administrative Officer 1 with salaries between \$5,500 and \$6,200. These four were interviewed and their views of the department are sometimes used to gain insight into the inner workings of Finance. Unless indicated they are excluded from statistical compilations.

The Department of Agriculture contained 279 English and 28 French within the target population. All the French were interviewed. Because the department is the setting for a large number of research specialists it was decided to increase the English sample above the usual 30 cases in order to gain a more thorough picture of the scientific career. For this reason 37 persons were chosen for interviews; this means that 13 per cent of the eligible English respondents was contacted.

In the Department of Public Works, as in Agriculture, only 28 French Canadians fitted our sampling criteria and all were interviewed. There were 173 English in the population of whom 32 (18 per cent of the English population) were interviewed.

The Department of National Revenue contained 154 English and 33 French within the age salary limits. All the French and a sample of 33 English, 21 per cent of all the eligible English, were contacted for an interview.

All together then, there were 128 interviews held with French respondents and 168 with English speakers.

SECTION TWO

THE STRUCTURE OF FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER 3

A CROSS-SECTION OF THE FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE

The Government of Canada is a complicated affair composed of interdependent elements.¹ At the apex is the Crown, represented in Canada by the Governor-General. The Governor-General summons and dissolves Parliament, assents to Bills, grants honours and awards, and executes other ceremonial functions. Below the Crown, power is divided between three authorities: (1) The Political Executive consisting of the Prime Minister and his Cabinet, (2) The Parliamentary Legislature composed of the Senate and the House of Commons, (3) The Federal Judiciary of which the Supreme Court and The Exchequer Court are the main bodies.

The Political Executive is charged with overseeing a myriad of national concerns. To assist it in governing, there exists the Federal Public Service. The F.P.S. is a multitude of Departments, Crown Corporations, Commissions, Councils, Boards, and Agencies. Each of these units specialize in the problems surrounding one or several areas of national interest. The unit of greatest import and influence is the Department.

1. For an overview of the government of Canada, as well as description of particular departments see Organization of the Government of Canada, 1966. Ottawa, The Queen's Printer, 1966.

In the Cabinet there are two main classes of Minister, those with and those without "portfolio". To possess a portfolio means that the Cabinet Minister presides over a Department of the Public Service. In most cases, Cabinet Ministers, whether with or without portfolio, report for one or more of the other, more minor, administrative units. The Minister, then, is 'the link between the executive which frames and approves policies, and the Public Service which administers and enforces them.

Ministers and Officials

While the Cabinet member may be defeated in an election or moved out of office in a "Cabinet Shuffle", the Public Servant follows a stable, secure career. Also, while the Minister is rarely a technical expert in the field in which his department operates, the Public Servant is a specialist. These are two important differences which affect significantly the actions and attitudes of the Minister and his officials.

The Minister exercises the power of final decision. He assumes responsibility for the major and minor decisions taken by his department or other agencies under his sway. It is such decisions (or indecision) that can lead to his loss of favour with the electorate or the Prime Minister,

and hence, the loss of his post. On the other hand, the official can endure often through several Ministers and changes in party dominance. The official is anonymous. He is expected to provide impartial advice, enforce laws objectively, or carry out careful research on behalf of his Minister. When there is a change in Ministers, the public servant continues his tenure and his concern with the day-to-day affairs of the organization.

But the official is not completely divorced from the political surroundings in which he works. The advice he proffers must be politically practical, the rules he enforces must have political support, or the research he carries out related to specific Canadian problems. Thus, the public servant must consciously or unwittingly tailor his work so that it is politically relevant.

The Public Service affords a life-time career for the experts who work within it. The public servant carves out a specialty and through meritorious performance can rise up through levels of increasing pay, power, and prestige. He develops an exact knowledge of facts in his area of work. He draws on this expert knowledge when he advances policy recommendations, administers legislation, or sets out on a fact-gathering project. On the other hand, the Minister is a generalist whose strength lies in assessing policy

measures against the background of public opinion and the claims and counter-claims of various interest groups.

However, the public servants are not devoid of political awareness. Both Ministers and officials are expected to be intimately aware of the diverse needs, interests and feelings of the people upon whose lives their work impinges. In other words, the Public Service is required to be responsive. Hence, the public servant is usually alert to the aspirations of the various groupings with which he deals.

It is sometimes argued that a Public Service is only responsive when it is representative, that is, when its personnel are drawn from the significant social aggregates in the population (however these are defined) in a proportion equivalent to their proportion in the general population. If a certain proportion of the population is from Western Canada, or female, or French-speaking, or whatever, then an equivalent proportion should be found in the Public Service. In this way, the interests of these groups will be "represented" when decisions are made. This argument is a complex one and need not detain us here. It will be raised again in the chapter on the social origins of public servants. The point to be made now is that the official in the Public Service must be sensitized to needs and developments in his field, from coast to coast, if not to international trends as well.

The Composition of the Federal Administration

The F.P.S. is the workplace for about half a million Canadians. In 1962, the Royal Commission on Government Organization (The Glassco Commission) assessed employment in the federal domain in terms that still apply today and undoubtedly will apply in the future:

The federal government is by far the largest employer of manpower in Canada. Indeed, both in terms of scale of organization and size of payrolls, it has become the biggest business in the nation.¹

The federal treasury issues the paychecks for about 7 per cent of the total Canadian labour force.²

The "core" of the Public Service is the twenty odd departments who are directly represented by a Minister in the Federal Cabinet. The two powerful central agencies (Treasury Board, Civil Service Commission) which police the Departments would also be included in this core. (See Chart 1). When people talk of the "Civil Service" it is to this

1. The Royal Commission on Government Organization. Volume I. Management of the Public Service. Ottawa. The Queen's Printer, 1962, pp. 307-308.

2. Ibid.

collection of organizations that they usually refer. This report will follow this usage, but not stringently. The term Civil Service will be used to refer to the Departments proper, while Public Service will designate the whole range of federal administrative units.

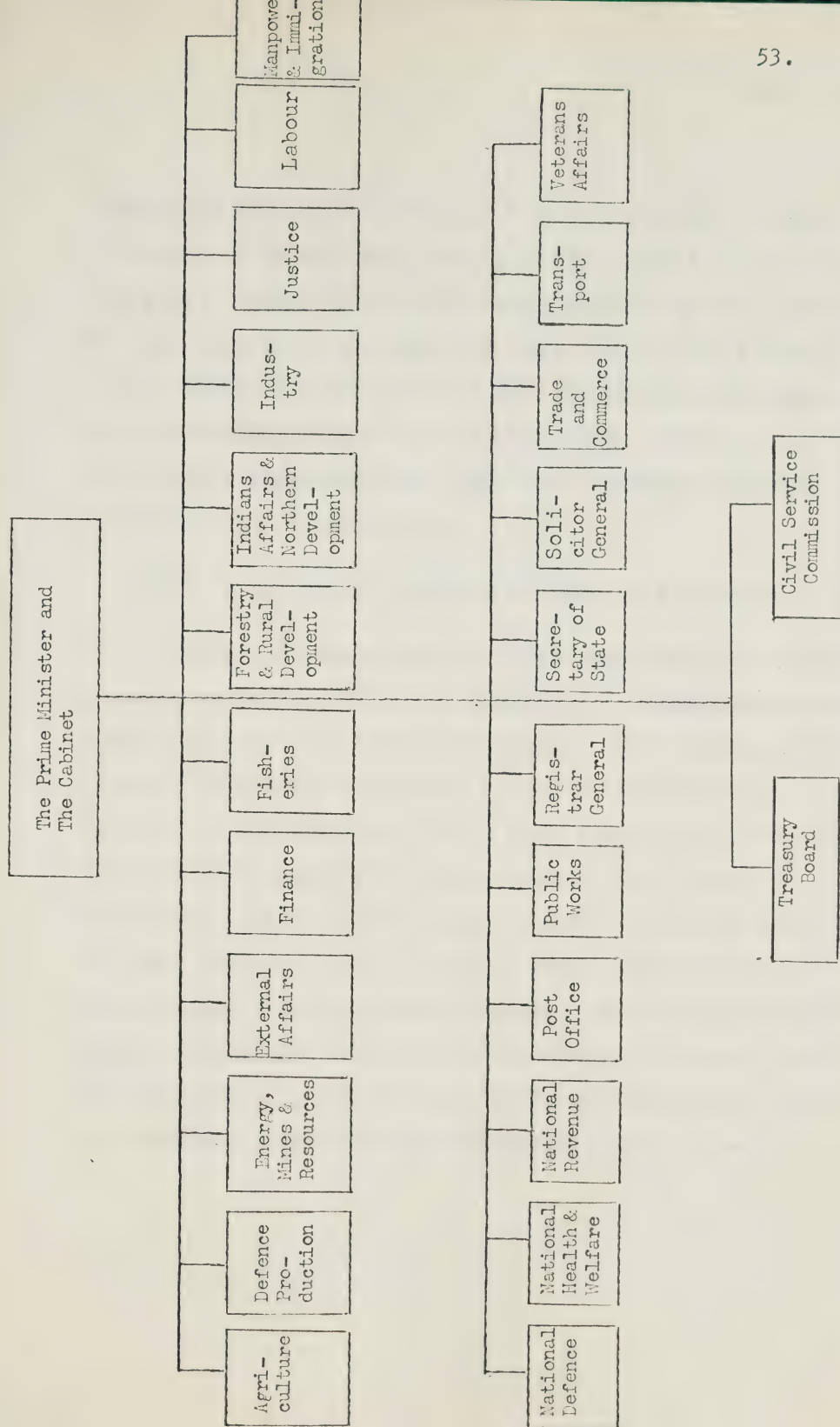
The stereotypes and images of the Public Service are drawn primarily from notions about the federal departments. However, these departments containing only about a third of the nearly 500,000 persons in the employ of the federal government. There is a staggering variety of work units ignored by the stereotype. In particular, there is a complex array of small boards and commissions. Also, about thirty per cent of public servants are employed by Crown Corporations and a quarter are in the Armed Forces.

However, the central concern of this study is not these non-departmental units. At the centre of attention are the Departments proper, the Civil Service. But, in brief review, we will examine these other agencies. Two purposes will be served by this review.

First, it indicates the immense variety of work settings within the Federal Service. It should be possible to bury forever the simple notions of the "average"

THE DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

(October, 1966)



government body of the "typical" public servant. Second, it serves to narrow the purview of this report by revealing the great expanse of federal administration we will ignore. On the other hand, it specifies more exactly the sectors of the Public Service to which our generalizations apply. The conclusions offered here about ethnic relations in the federal administration apply with certainty only to the Departmental structures.

Now to the units outside our terms of reference.

Boards and commissions of a seemingly endless variety are allied in a diversity of financial and administrative connections to particular departments. These bodies are created by statute to perform a specialized function. Unlike Crown Corporations which have a measure of independence, these agencies are quite closely tied to the Departments in whose field they operate. Included here are such entities as the Board of Grain Commissioners (Agriculture), Tariff Board (Finance), Fisheries Research Board (Fisheries), Defence Research Board (National Defence), National Energy Board (Energy, Mines and Resources), Board of Transport Commissioners (Transport), among others.

Crown Corporations are relatively more independent bodies. They are, however, under the terms of the Financial Administration Act, 1951, ultimately accountable to a Cabinet Minister. They can be classified under four broad headings.¹

- 1) Business Agencies - These agencies operate in a quasi-commercial manner in service or trading operations. The Canadian National Railways, Air Canada, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Eldorado Mining and Refining Limited, Polymer Corporation, Canadian Arsenals Limited, and Atomic Energy of Canada, Limited are among those that fall under this rubric.
- 2) Financial Agencies - Included here are those organizations responsible for particular aspects of the Canadian credit, fiscal, or monetary scene: Bank of Canada, Industrial Development Bank, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Farm Credit Corporation, and several others.
- 3) Trading, Price Support, and Procurement Agencies - The procurement or disposal of goods, or, the provision of trading services and price supports for Canadian products is the main activity of these units. Here would be included

1. Adapted from J.E. Hodgetts, "The Public Corporation in Canada" in J.E. Hodgetts and D.C. Corbett, editors, Canadian Public Administration, Toronto, MacMillan Co. 1960, pp. 184-212.

the Canadian Wheat Board, Crown Assets Disposal Corporation, Agricultural Prices Support Board, Fisheries Prices Support Board, and others.

4) Resource Management and Research Agencies - The corporate agencies in this field are responsible for managing certain public properties or resources, or carrying out scientific research. On the list for this category would be the National Battlefields Commission, Dominion Coal Board, National Capital Commission, National Gallery of Canada, National Research Council, St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, and a great variety of other unique units.

This completes the roster of types of public corporations from which 1 in 3 public servants derive employment.

An extended definition of the Public Service would also encompass Canada's military units numbering some 120,000 persons or one quarter of the Public Service population. The Armed Forces are headed by a Cabinet Minister, the Minister of National Defence. But, because the Forces are staffed by career military personnel, they are unlike other Departments. Directly, under the Minister is the Chief of Defence Staff who is a military officer responsible for the control and management of the armed units under his command.

However, one part of the Defence Department, that under the Associate Deputy Minister, is like an ordinary government department. It is charged with administrative details connected with running the Canadian Forces. An Assistant Deputy Minister, rather than military officer, is found at the head of each of three main planning areas: Finance, Personnel, Logistics.

This completes our brief tour of the units, other than departments, that can be considered part of the Public Service. Now, these agencies - Commissions, Boards, Crown Corporations, Armed Forces - will be ignored for the duration of the report. The boundaries are drawn, the analysis of the Departments can begin.

The Range of Government Departments

As already pointed out the departments (the Civil Service) contain only about thirty per cent of those who fall under the broad rubric "public servant". Yet, it is on the basis of opinions and observations about how these departments operate that public attitudes to the federal administration are formed. The "bureaucrats" and "white-collar workers" who people these organizations are regarded by most Canadians as the heart of the Civil Service.

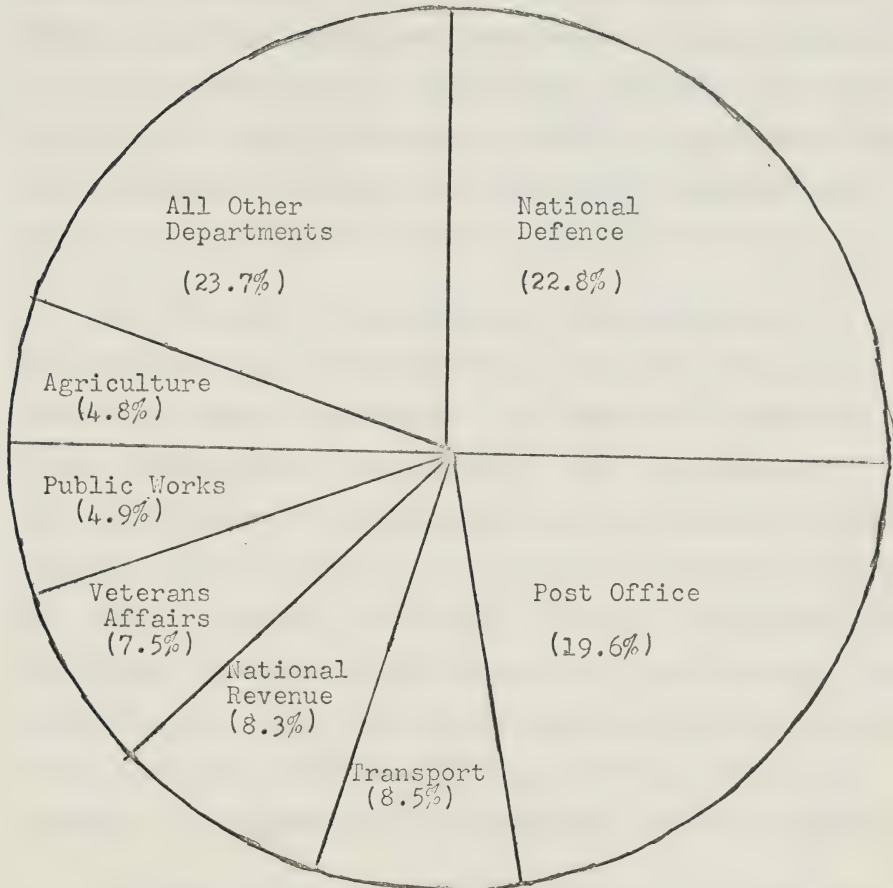
As this report is written (Autumn, 1966) there are 23 departments in existence and two major control agencies, Treasury Board and the Civil Service Commission (Chart One). They contain about 170,000 workers located in organizations that range in size from the nearly 40,000 civilian employees in the Department of National Defence to between 300 and 600 found in Labour, Justice, and Industry.

Seven departments account for more than three-quarters of those on the civil service payroll. (See Chart Two). Slightly more than a fifth of the civil servants are in National Defence, a fifth in the Post Office. National Revenue, Transport, and Veterans Affairs each contribute about 7-8 per cent. The other two "grants", Public Works and Agriculture each employ some 5 per cent of the Civil Service.

A majority of the Departments contain between 500 and 5,000 people.

Although size was not the grounds on which the departments were selected for detailed scrutiny by the Career Study, it is worth noting that three of the largest fell into our cross-sectional sample: National Revenue, Public Works, Agriculture.

CHART TWO

Departmental Employment in the Canadian
Civil Service - April, 1966

TOTAL: 169,748

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics.
Federal Government Employment, April, 1966.

The departments can also be classified by their dominant function. According to this criterion, five categories can be identified: central policy-making, regional public service, international relations, national defence, or cultural. The classificatory scheme showing where the current government departments would be placed is laid out in Chart Three. It is these categories that were used when it came to selecting a sample of departments that would adequately represent the variety of organizational structures and functions found in the Civil Service.

In choosing a cross-section of departments, one or sometimes two units were chosen to represent each of the major divisions of government. If there was a number of likely candidates in any division, then the relevance of the department to French-English relations became a deciding factor. However, because several areas of government were the object of special studies by the Royal Commission, the departments operating within these areas were removed from consideration. Those dropped in this way included the one in international relations (External Affairs, Trade and Commerce) and defence (National Defence, Defence Production).

Although, the grounds for choosing each of the five departments will be explained here, a thorough description of each must wait until the next chapter.

CHART THREE

CLASSIFICATION OF THE DEPARTMENTS AND CONTROL AGENCIES OF
THE CANADIAN CIVIL SERVICE - 1966

CENTRALIZED POLICY-MAKERSMajor
Influence

Finance
Civil Service
Commission
Treasury Board

Limited
Influence

Justice
Industry
Labour
Registrar
General

REGIONALIZED SERVICESDirect

Agriculture
National
Revenue
Health and
Welfare

Veterans
Affairs
Indian Affairs
and Northern
Development
Manpower and
Immigration
Post Office

Indirect

Public Works
Transport
Forestry and
Rural Develop-
ment
Energy, Mines
and Resources
Solicitor
General

Fisheries

CULTURAL

Secretary
of State

INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

External Affairs
Trade and Commerce

DEFENCE

National
Defence
Defence
Production

The centralized units have most of their staff in the Ottawa area and are responsible for policy, planning or overall regulation of some branch of government activity. Certain of these units are extremely powerful either in directing national policy or in setting standards for other departments to follow. The Department of Finance easily falls under the former rubric, while the Civil Service Commission and the Treasury Board Secretariat are under the latter.

The powers of the Civil Service Commission are to recruit new personnel and supervise promotion procedures in the departments, to conduct staff training programs including language training, to act as management consultants to various departments and assist them in reorganizing duties, and to provide personnel services and information about needed changes in government pay levels and working conditions. A glance at this roster of functions reveals the extensive controls the Commission possesses. Likewise, the Treasury Board Secretariat exercises strong supervision over government departments. It examines the proposed spending programs of all departments and approves them before they are submitted to Parliament. In the future, the Treasury Board will be responsible for ensuring that an adequate inventory of manpower in the civil service is

maintained, supervising a new simplified system of job classification, arranging the framework for collective bargaining in the civil service and seeking ways of improving the efficiency of the federal administration, particularly by transferring authority vested in various central agencies to the departments. Hence, in time, the Treasury Board Secretariat will add to its already considerable powers, other duties that will make it the most influential agency in directing the nature of federal administrative organization.

Because of their strategic role in shaping the civil service, these two agencies were the object of intensive studies by the Royal Commission. Hence, they were not considered for inclusion in the Career Study.

In the field of national economic policy, the Department of Finance leads the way. It also has the reputation for being the training ground for the country's top civil servants. On these grounds, Finance was chosen for study.

Several centralized Departments with specialized functions and limited influence were excluded from the study. This category includes the three smallest of all departments (Justice, Industry, Labour). The other departments in this grouping were regarded as peripheral to the main issues of English-French relations.

The regionalized departments are those with offices across the nation which provide services either directly or indirectly to the public or to particular categories of citizens.

The provision of direct services involves dealing face to face or through correspondence with persons in the immediate area. These departments operate "field" services in various regions of the country so that they can deal directly with their clients. The department of National Revenue, that body charged with tax collection, was selected for study. The workers in this organization must daily deal with the tax problems of individual citizens often necessitating personal contact between a departmental official and the individual.

The Department of Agriculture, also placed under the direct service banner, was chosen as well. It provides not only services to the farming regions of Canada but also houses a large establishment of research scientists. Although its service activities will be examined, of particular interest is a scrutiny of careers in science and how bilingualism impinges on such careers.

Indirect service refers to the operations of those departments involved in the construction of public facilities or the management of a public resource. For instance, the Department of Fisheries is responsible for the development and protection of fish stocks in Canada. Likewise, the Department of Public Works, which was picked by the Career Study, is charged with the design and construction of major highways and bridges, and of all federal buildings (hospitals, Post Offices, schools, penitentiaries and the like). Although, these departments do not have to deal face to face with the general public, they still possess regional offices that serve as a base of operations for their work.

There is one final area of government endeavour to consider: the promotion of Canadian culture. The sole department fulfilling this function, and one fixed upon for study in depth, is the Department of the Secretary of State. Its responsibility is to protect and enhance the traditions and arts of Canada. In part, this involves the development of communication between the two official language groups in the country.

It administers the National Museum of Canada and the translation services for the rest of the Civil Service. It is also the spokesman in Parliament for a set of public corporations that safeguard the national heritage:

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, National Gallery, National Film Board, National Library, Canada Council and several others. It is also responsible for the conduct of state ceremonials, and recently has become accountable for citizenship: to encourage more effective citizenship on the part of all Canadians and to bring about mutual understanding between groups in Canada. Hence, on many fronts, the Secretary of State attempts to nourish and develop Canada's cultural activities.

Also, at the time of our study, several legal services, the Patent and Copyright Office being the major one, were attached to the department. They have since been transferred to a new setting, The Department of the Registrar General.

This completes the classification of departments and the roster of those selected. We ended up with five departments: Secretary of State (cultural functions plus legal services), Public Works (indirect regional services) Agriculture (direct regional services plus a scientific community), National Revenue (direct regional services) and Finance (central policy-making activities). These were chosen to offer a reasonable cross-section of the range of government departments. As much as possible, each of the major activities of government is represented. In the next section of this Chapter, we will marshall what meagre evidence there is in order to indicate the degree to which the chosen departments reflect the rest of the civil service.

The following chapter will dwell on the formal structure of each of the selected departments.

Representativeness of the Five Departments

An evaluation of the adequacy of our chosen departments as a representative cross-section of the federal administration is hampered by the paucity of information about the size and composition of the Civil Service of Canada. Two main sources are available. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics issues a monthly bulletin entitled Federal Government Employment which offers broad coverage but little detail about the internal make-up of the federal service. The Civil Service Commission prepares a yearly report, The Composition of the Civil Service of Canada, which presents detailed breakdowns but only includes personnel employed under the Civil Service Act. This means the exclusion of a sizeable number of salaried and prevailing rate departmental employees as well as all the employees of Crown Corporations. Neither report covers the Armed Forces.

For our purposes, the detailed information provided by the C.S.C. about departmental personnel employed under the Civil Service Act will suffice.

The C.S.C. divides its employee population into seven major occupational groups of which three are of interest here. These three correspond quite closely to the type of occupations that have been included in our survey of the sub-elite.

1. Professional - This group contains about 5% of the total civil service population. It consists of those fields in which the work performed is directly associated with the specialized university training of the incumbents. Among the employees found within this group are those classified as Chemists, Engineers, Economists, Geologists, Medical Officers, and Solicitors.

2. Administration - This category includes about 8% of the employee total. Here are placed the senior management group and those classes for which high educational qualifications are necessary (Finance Officers, Foreign Service Officers, Senior Officers), those with professional accounting qualifications, and a large group of junior administrators (Administrative Officers, Personnel Officers, Translators, Treasure Officers, and others).

3. Technical and Inspection - They make up just over 13% of the total departmental employment. In this group are those scientific and technical classes for which university education is not normally a requirement but for

Table 3.1 compares the occupational composition of the five selected departments to the rest of the civil service.

TABLE 3.1

Department By Occupational Class Group for
Employees Under the Civil Service Act, September, 1964.

<u>DEPARTMENT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>PROF.</u>	<u>ADMIN.</u>	<u>TECH and INSPECT.</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
Finance	100.0 (N=327)	4.37	42.5	2.8	50.5
Nat. Rev. (Taxation)	100.0 (N=7287)	0.4	41.6	0.8	57.2
Agriculture	100.0 (N=6255)	25.2	4.1	42.4	28.3
Public Works	100.0 (N=5706)	6.3	2.3	9.4	82.0
Sec. of State	100.0 (N=877)	20.2	30.2	4.3	45.3
<hr/>					
TOTAL: Five Departments	100.0 (N=20452)	10.5	18.7	16.1	54.6
<hr/>					
All Other Departments	100.0 (N=103916)	4.3	6.4	13.0	76.3
<hr/>					
TOTAL: All Departments	100.0 (N=124368)	5.4	8.4	13.5	72.8

Source: Commission du service civil du Canada. La Composition du Service Civil du Canada, septembre, 1964, Tableau 7(a) - Only departments have been included in these compilations.

which considerable technical skill and knowledge are required. For example, Technical Officers, Draftsmen, and Technicians are included here.

The remaining 73% of the departmental employment is allocated among the Office (Clerical and Typing), Service and Maintenance, Hospital, and Postal, Customs and Immigration groups. The Office group is by far the largest of these.

It is apparent that according to the figures for those under the Civil Service Act, the five departments have a greater proportion of specialist (professional and technical) and administrative careers than does the rest of the Civil Service. However, the fact that the five departments are "top heavy" with these sorts of careers does not negate the research. Our concern is with the sub-elite, and we have evidently selected departments with a goodly proportion of employees at this level. As long as our generalizations are applied only to the Civil Service sub-elite our findings are firm. We will not and dare not attempt to generalize about other levels of the Civil Service or the Civil Service as a whole.

When the distribution of the three occupational groups alone (Professional, Administration, Technical and Inspection) for the five departments is compared to the remainder of the departments, the nature of the over-representation is made more clear. (Table 3.2) In these occupational classes, the five departments are evidently more "professionalized" and more Administrative in nature than the other departments. Conversely, they contain relatively fewer technical workers than do the rest of the civil service. Again, it seems that our selection of departments have a greater proportion of more senior sub-elite positions than is found in other departments.

Of note is that the C.S.C. reports that the three occupational groups under consideration here are growing at a much faster rate than other fields of work. During the seven year period 1957-1964 each of these groups has increased in the percentage of the total Civil Service it contains. Not only this, but certain occupations have shown marked numerical growth. The Scientific Officers have doubled, Patent Examiners have increased 70%, Biologists by 65% and Geologists, 55%. Other groupings, however, including chemists, lawyers, and medical doctors have remained fairly constant in size. In the Administration category, the Senior Officers have undergone a 90% increase and the

TABLE 3.2

Department by Occupational
Class Group for Employees Under the Civil Service
Act, September 1964 (Professional, Administration,
Technical and Inspection Classes Only)

<u>DEPARTMENT</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>PROF</u>	<u>ADMIN</u>	<u>TECH and INSPECT</u>
Finance	100.0 (N=162)	8.6	85.8	5.6
National Rev. (Taxation)	100.0 (N=3119)	0.9	97.2	1.9
Agriculture	100.0 (N=4487)	35.1	5.8	59.1
Public Works	100.0 (N=1028)	35.0	12.9	52.0
Sec. of State	100.0 (N=480)	36.9	55.2	7.9
<hr/>				
TOTAL: Five Departments	100.0 (N=9276)	23.2	41.3	35.5
<hr/>				
All Other Departments	100.0 (N=24595)	18.3	26.9	54.8
<hr/>				
TOTAL: All Departments	100.0 (N=33871)	19.7	30.9	49.5

Source: Commission du service civil du Canada. La composition du service civil du Canada, septembre, 1964, Tableau 7(a) - Only departments have been included in these compilations.

Administrative Officers have augmented their numbers by more than two-thirds. Substantial growth was also reported in most of the Technical and Inspection subgroups.

Our study, then, takes in rather lively and expanding areas of work.

CHAPTER 4

THE FIVE DEPARTMENTS: THEIR MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS

A government department is first and foremost a social organization. By this is meant that it is a collection of persons who have developed orderly relations among themselves in order to obtain a set of objectives or goals. To be more specific, it is a grouping with an exact roster of members, an unequivocal collective identity, a program of activity, and procedures for replacing members.¹ Let us dwell for a moment on these identifying characteristics which distinguish social organizations from unorganized groups.

The roster of members sets apart members from non-members. Those within the organization deal regularly with various others in the organization and they come to know who belongs and who doesn't. Hence, boundaries are drawn between insiders and outsiders.

The unequivocal collective identity refers to the specific name or title borne by the organization and its distinctive features which differentiate it from other organizations. The name often conveys a good deal of

1. Theodore Caplow, Principles of Organization, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964, pp. 1-3.

information about the organization's purposes, location, and affiliations, and it enables collective action to be taken without confusion.¹

Every organization has a program, a plan of action by which its goals may be attained. Persons in an organization are allotted roles to play in moving the organization towards its objectives. The co-ordinated activities of persons are essential for fulfilling the organization's functions..

Finally, an organization possesses procedures for recruiting new members so that it can continue as an ongoing concern.

By these standards it is clear that a government department is a social organization. It shares these organizational attributes with a family group, an army, a bank, a neighbourhood church, a baseball team, and a great variety of other organized groups.

However, it is unlike other types of social groupings that lack one or more of these attributes. Among such unorganized aggregates are social classes (no exact member-

1. Ibid, pp. 1-2.

ship and no unequivocal collective identity), crowds, or audiences (no program of activity), and a variety of social categories: sex or age groups, voters for a particular party or persons who share a particular like or dislike (no sustained relationships).

A minimum definition of a social organization would include then, two fundamentals.¹ First, there is a network of social relationships linking persons or groups together into a larger whole. A structure of social relations exists binding together the constituent members or subgroups. The differentiated units stand in a definite relationship one to another (leader-follower, parent-child, work groups-managers, staff groups - line authority). Second, there are shared goals, beliefs, and values which unite the members and guide their conduct. Transmitted to each person or subgroup in an organization are certain "rules of the game". These expectations or ideals are the standards to which members are required to adhere.

A social organization exists when human beings become enmeshed in a set of social ties and live according to cultural standards.

But a government department is a social organization of a special kind - a "bureaucratic" or "formal" organization.

1. Peter M. Blair and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations, San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962, pp. 2-5.

A Government Department as a Bureaucracy

In addition to the organizational features just considered, a bureaucracy is marked by rather distinctive traits.

Of the first order of importance is that a bureaucracy is formally constituted for the express purposes of attaining a specific goal or goals.

Social relationships in bureaucratic organizations are arranged so that the activity of each participant is relevant to the attainment of these goals. To be more specific, a bureaucratic organization possesses the following identifying characteristics:¹

1. The organization is divided into relatively fixed, specific jurisdictional areas (branches, divisions, etc.) which are defined and regulated by established rules, laws, or administrative duties.

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1. The features dealt with are drawn from the well-known discussion of bureaucracy by the German sociologist, Max Weber. His writing on bureaucracy is to be found in two parts of his translated works: Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, Translated by A.R. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, London: William Hodge and Co., 1947. pp. 302-312; Max Weber, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, Translated, Edited, and with an Introduction by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, New York: Oxford University Press, 1958. pp. 196-244.

2. There are formally established offices each with a specified list of duties. There is a division of labour among the officials in the organization with each one working in a delimited area in which he is the expert.

3. The organization of offices or positions follow the principle of hierarchy; that is, each office is under the control and supervision of a higher one.

4. Administrative acts, decisions, and rules are formulated and recorded in writing. Since operations depend on written documents, there is a clerical staff who keep "the files".

5. The organization offers the official a stable career leading from the bottom to the top of the organization. It is marked by a regular salary with periodic salary boosts, promotions, increasing responsibilities and seniority privileges.

6. The main criterion on which a person is recruited and promoted is technical competence. Whether or not a person obtains an appointment is determined by an objective weighing of his merits.

Therefore, we will treat bureaucracy as a neutral term designating a particular species of social organization. Ignored here will be any treatment of bureaucratic organization as "red-tape", as unwieldy and inefficient. Our conception of a bureaucracy and hence of a government department is that it is a social organization which co-ordinates the work of many individuals or groups in a systematic manner to achieve one or more specific goals.

In examining the selected government departments, our focus will be on several aspects of their bureaucratic structure. It will be essential to outline the formal structure of each. The major responsibilities or goals of a department and the manner in which it is broken down into branches or divisions to attain the goals, will be surveyed. The hierarchy of command will be of relevance in looking at how the department has organized itself. In large part, this is the task of the present chapter.

However, the most central concern of this study is to examine the department as a career setting. The bulk of this report is on careers in the governmental bureaucracies. But before turning to the different career types, it is imperative to describe the stage on which these work roles are played out.

The Department of Finance

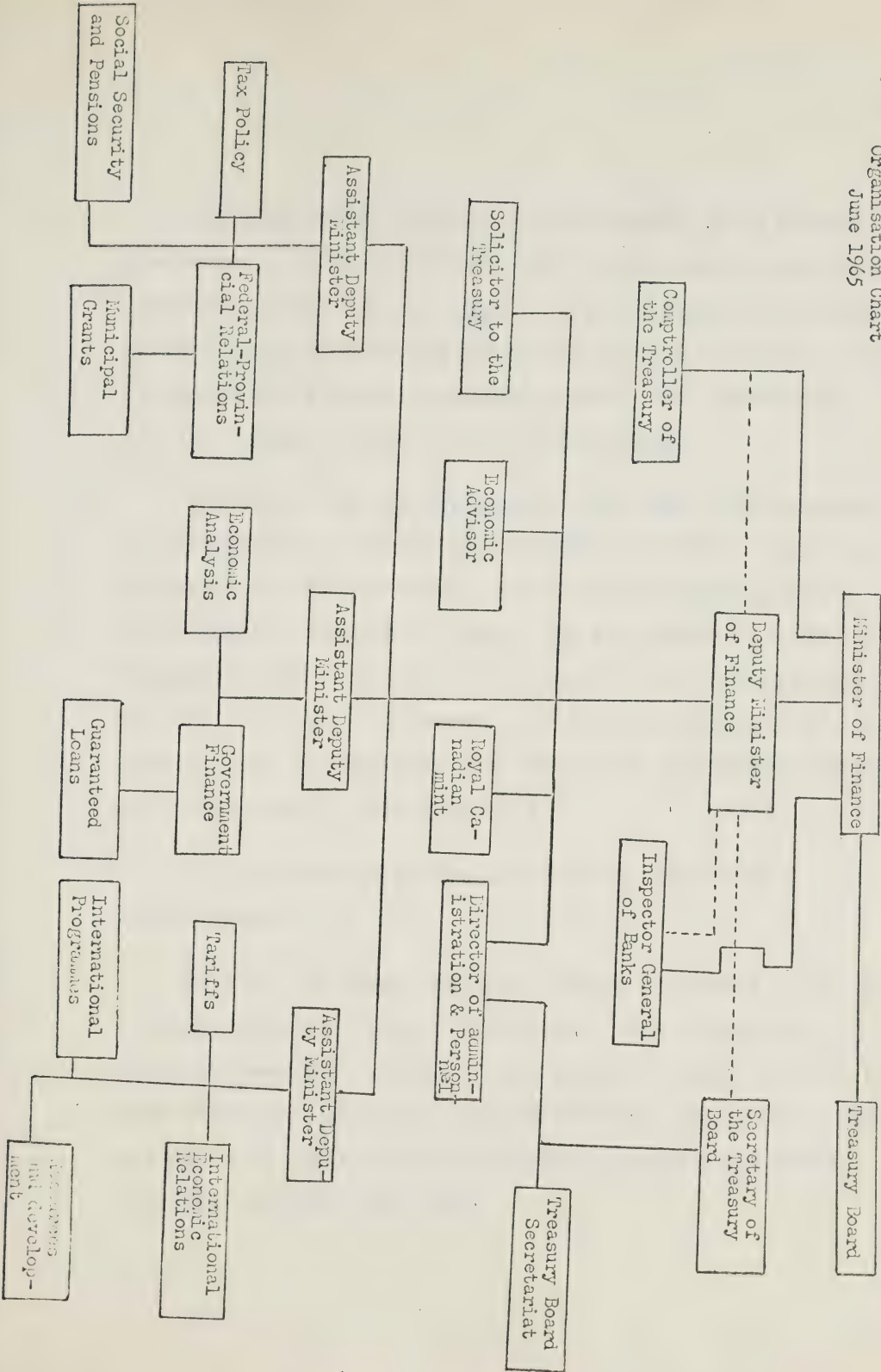
The Department of Finance was chosen for study because it is a powerful, policy-advising department. At the same time, the "Ottawa Establishment", that group of senior cabinet ministers and government advisers who dominate federal politics, is more likely to be drawn from the senior ranks in Finance than from the senior persons in any other Department. In 1964, Peter Newman identified 37 men who made up Ottawa's governing elite. Twenty of them were or had been associated with Finance.¹ Hence, it is from Finance that Canada's leading civil servants are likely to emerge.

The Department of Finance is the central agency responsible for the financial affairs of Canada, whether on the national or international scene. Its primary role is to provide the Minister of Finance, the Cabinet, and other governmental agencies with pertinent information and advice on all matters of financial interest. To perform this role the department continuously conducts economic research of a current nature, better described as "economic intelligence". It is not research in the academic sense, but rather "analysis" that will aid the development and co-ordination of general economic policy.

1. Peter C. Newman, "The Ottawa Establishment", Maclean's, August 22, 1964, p. 7.

DIAGRAM 1: ORGANISATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE

Department of Finance
Organisation Chart
June 1965



The main annual task of the department is to produce the Budget. In this, officers of the department must review government plans in the light of the willingness and ability of the public to bear the financial burdens involved, consider the means for raising necessary revenue, and assess the overall economic implications of such plans.

The "core" of the Department comprises three branches each reporting to an Assistant Deputy Minister. Also under the aegis of the Department are the Royal Canadian Mint, the Inspector General of Banks, and the Comptroller of the Treasury. Until recently, the Treasury Board Secretariat was allied to the Department. It is in the process of gaining more independence and new powers to regulate government employment. (See Diagram 1).

In our research we concentrated on the "core" establishment.

Each of the three Assistant Deputy Ministers heads up a branch with two to four Divisions. (See Diagram 2). A Division contains a Director and three to eight officers who work with him. There are nine Divisions. Altogether, there are about 85 senior persons (Finance Officers and Senior Officers) manning this core.

DIAGRAM 2: DIVISIONS WITHIN THE "CORE" ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE

Branches Responsible
to an Assistant
Deputy Minister

Divisions

Taxation, Social
Welfare & Federal
Provincial Relations

1. Tax Policy
2. Federal-Provincial
Relations.
3. Social Security &
Pensions

Financial Affairs
Economic Aid &
External Aid

4. Economic Analysis
5. Government Finance

Economic Affairs,
Industry, Tariffs
& Trade

6. International
Economic Relations
7. Tariffs
8. Resources &
Development
9. International
Programmes

Divided among the three branches are extensive powers in both the internal and international economic fields.

In the first branch are contained the Divisions of Tax Policy, Federal-Provincial Relations, and Social Security and Pensions. Generally they advise the Minister on all aspects of taxation and fiscal policy and on social security policy, and estimate probable revenue from taxation. The Federal-Provincial Relations Division is concerned with fiscal and tax sharing arrangements with the Provinces and co-operates with the Department of Labour in the administration of the Winter Works programme. This Division also gives policy direction to the Municipal Grants Office. The latter is rather out of the mainstream of the department. It calculates payment of annual grants in lieu of taxes to municipalities in which federal property is held.

In branch two, the Divisions of Government Finance and Economic Analysis have developed quite recently, since 1959. These divisions deal with economic forecasting, debt management, and relations with the Bank of Canada, provide reports of Canada's economic situation to the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.) and the O.E.C.D. in Paris, and examine government financing arrangements. The Division of Government Finance also directs the activities of the Guaranteed Loans Office, a

subsidiary unit which administers the "Canada Student Loans Act", "Small Businesses Loans Act", "Farm Improvement Loans Act", and other similar legislation.

The four division of Tariffs, International Economic Relations, Resources and Development, and International Programmes are grouped together in the third branch. Together they work on all aspects of tariffs, commercial trade policy, import policy, external aid, and also several domestic economic programs in agriculture, manpower, and industrial subsidies. The Divisions with an international focus are much involved in negotiations with representatives from other countries and international bodies (World Bank, United Nations, G.A.T.T., International Bank for Reconstruction and Development).

It is clear from this discussion that the department's clientele is vast. Its officers are regularly in contact with Cabinet Ministers, provincial governments, business agencies, officials from other countries, and international agencies. All Federal departments which want to launch programmes negotiate with Finance. There is a continuous dialogue between the department and provincial officials. In the international field it deals predominantly with the United States and the United Kingdom and, to a lesser extent, with France. It is a partner in many international

arrangements. Within Canada, it also regularly meets with spokesmen for industries, particular companies, trade associations, and banks.

History

The development of the department as it is constituted at present can be traced to the nineteen-thirties.¹ In 1930, when R.B. Bennett became Prime Minister of Canada he decided also to be Minister of Finance, a post he had previously held in 1926, in the Meighen Administration. Bennett was faced with a growing economic depression and wanted to take vigorous action to avert it. Part of his plan was to inject the Department with new talent. He turned to Queen's University and hired economics professor W.C. Clark. Dr. Clark joined as Deputy Minister of Finance in 1932 and held that post until his death in 1952. Over these 20 years, W.C. Clark built up the department and set the standards which are current to-day.

One of Dr. Clark's strategies was to attract experts and academics to Finance. Sociologist, John Porter describes them as "Dr. Clark's Boys", "an outstanding group of expert administrators who were to be the architects of the economic

1. The details in this section are extracted from a 65 page report by Dr. A.A. Steins entitled History of the Department of Finance. It is dated May 1965. The report has evidently been published privately.

and social policies required by the war and post-war reconstruction".¹ One of Clark's fairly early appointments was that of R.B. Bryce in 1938 who now is Deputy-Minister. Mr. Bryce had received his early training in mining engineering, but curious about the reasons for the depression he had gone on to study economics at Cambridge and Harvard. Besides Mr. Bryce, at one time or another, a whole host of renowned public servants, some who later entered politics, passed through the Department: economist, now professor K.W. Taylor, W.A. MacIntosh from Queen's who later returned to that university as its Chancellor, Walter Gordon who became Minister of Finance in 1962, Mitchell Sharp the present Minister of Finance, tax expert J.H. Perry, and J.J. Deutsch who later left the department for Queen's but returned to public service to head up the Economic Council of Canada. These are some of the men who surrounded Dr. Clark during the "golden age of Canadian public administration".²

Clark's influence has had important consequences for the Department. Despite its extensive and widening powers it has remained an essentially small group of experts of whom rigidly

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1. John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965, pp. 425-428.
 2. Ibid. p. 426.

high standards are demanded. It is still felt that close ties with Queen's are maintained. Combined with these factors, the department's connection with the Ottawa elite has given Finance the image of a fast-moving, high powered "glamour" department with more than a touch of "in-group" flavour. A later chapter on the career of the Finance Officer will attempt to unravel further the importance of the Finance "image".

Department of National Revenue (Taxation Division)

Overall, the Department of National Revenue is the third largest department of government following National Defence and the Post Office. It consists of two main divisions: Taxation Division and Customs and Excise Division. The Career Study examined only the Taxation Division in detail.

Each of the two main divisions is headed up by a Deputy Minister responsible to the Minister of National Revenue. But, here the similarity ends. While the Deputy Minister of Taxation has only one Assistant Deputy working under him, his counterpart in Customs and Excise has no less than three such assistants. The Taxation Division is also smaller than Customs and Excise in other respects. It has fewer employees and a smaller budget.

The goals and national field structure of the two divisions are quite dissimilar. Customs and Excise is responsible for the assessment and collection of customs duties on imported goods, excise duties, as well as sales and excise taxes. It maintains some 275 main ports of entry, 113 outports, and a number of Vessel Clearing Stations and seasonal offices. All these field units report directly to Head Office. On the other hand, Taxation Division maintains thirty, fairly independent, district offices across Canada. This number includes the Taxation Data Centre located in Ottawa.

The Taxation Division is responsible for the assessment and collection of income taxes, estate taxes, gift taxes, a portion of the old age security tax, and federal pension plan contributions. In addition, under the terms of the provincial tax collection agreements of 1962, the Division is responsible for the collection and accounting of certain provincial taxes for all the provinces except Quebec. Shown below is a more exact depiction of the effects of the 1962 tax rental agreements.

Types of Taxes which are Assessed and Collected
by the Taxation Division for the Provinces

<u>Tax Category</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Ontario</u>	<u>British Columbia</u>	<u>All Others</u>
Personal Income Tax	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Corporation Income Tax	No	No	Yes	Yes
Estate Tax	No	No	No	Yes

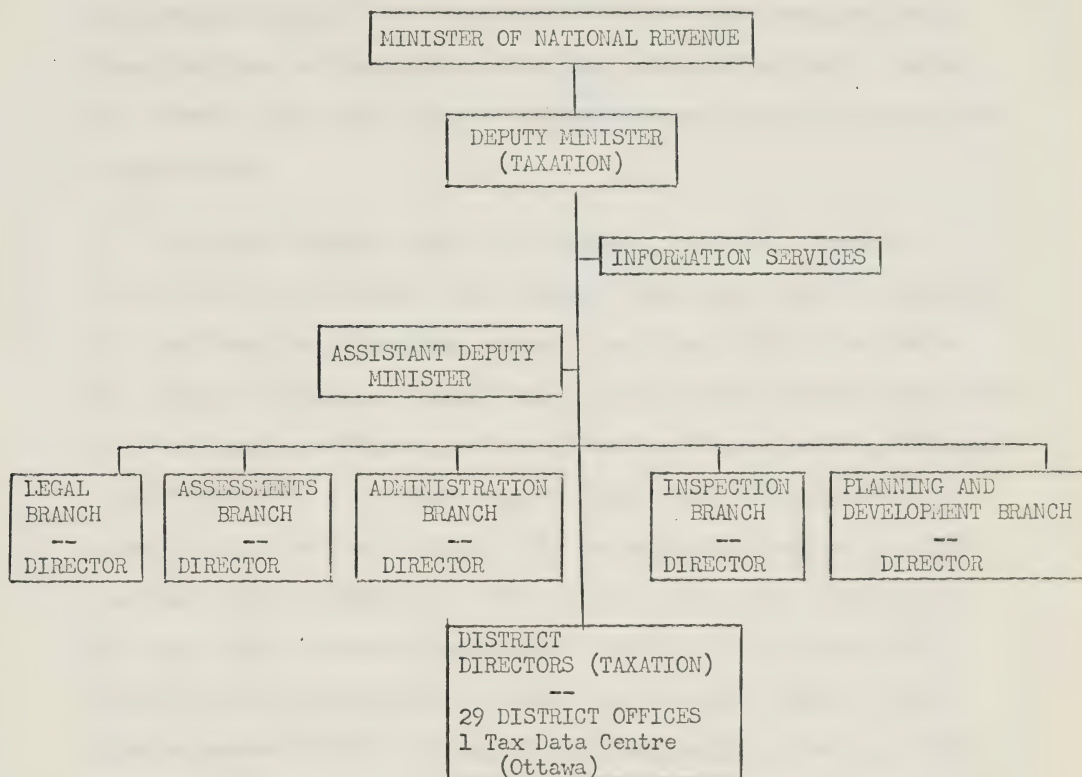
The underlying goal of the Taxation Division, then, is to obtain public compliance with tax legislation, both federal and provincial. There are two major ways in which the Division attempts to obtain compliance: (1) by acquainting the public, in the clearest terms possible, with the procedures for preparing and filing returns, and (2) by making the procedures themselves as simple as possible. The Division regards as one of its important functions to assist the ordinary citizen to understand and file the appropriate returns so that he will not run afoul about the law.

While the Department of National Revenue is charged with tax collection, the drawing up of tax policy is the job of the Department of Finance. Although the two activities are formally divorced, there is still collaboration in the

DIAGRAM 3

ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL REVENUE (TAXATION DIVISION)

October 1965



St. John's, Nfld
Charlottetown, P.E.I.
Halifax, N.S.
Sydney, N.S.
Saint John, N.B.
Quebec, P.Q.
Montreal, P.Q.

Sherbrooke, P.Q.
Rouyn, P.Q.
Ottawa, Ont.
Kingston, Ont.
Belleville, Ont.
Hamilton, Ont.
Kitchener, Ont.
Toronto, Ont.

St. Catharines, Ont.
London, Ont.
Windsor, Ont.
Sudbury, Ont.
Fort William, Ont.
Winnipeg, Man.
Regina, Sask.

Saskatoon, Sask.
Calgary, Alta.
Edmonton, Alta.
Vancouver, B.C.
Victoria, B.C.
Penticton, B.C.
Whitehorse, Y.T.

drafting of tax legislation, although the final responsibility for such legislation rests with Finance. The Finance Department is concerned with the economic implications of tax regulations. The Taxation Division is concerned with the problems of implementation and administration. There is an attempt to bring the two perspectives together in any new legislation.

Unlike Finance which is a small, central, powerful unit, National Revenue is a large, regional, service agency. In the Taxation Division, under the Deputy Minister there is a Head Office in Ottawa and a field organization consisting of 29 District Offices and the Taxation Data Centre, Ottawa. (See Diagram 3). At the end of 1964, the Division had a continuing staff of about 5,825 as seen in Diagram 4. The current figure (1966) is about 6,585. To this total could be added the seasonal employees, nearly all of whom are used at the Ottawa Data Centre. In average years, they number around 1600. Of the total continuing staff, a little less than 10% are located in the Head Office. Well over a half (58%) of the total number of employees in the Division are estimated to be earning less than \$6200 per annum. The number of Head Office employees falling in this category is only 52%. This indicates clearly that the better-paying, senior positions in the Division are, as expected, located in the Head Office.

Diagram 4

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL REVENUE (TAXATION DIVISION)

December 31, 1964

ALLOCATION OF CONTINUING STAFF BY CLASSIFICATION & SALARY LEVEL

CLASSIFICATION	HEAD OFFICE			DISTRICT OFFICE			TOTAL	
	ESTIMATED*		TOTAL	ESTIMATED*		TOTAL	ESTIMATED*	
	Salary Below \$6200	Salary \$6200 & Above		Salary Below \$6200	Salary \$6200 & Above		Salary Below \$6200	Salary \$6200 & Above
Deputy, Directors		16	16		29	29		45
Assessor 3A & Up		92	92		1,036	1,036		1,128
Assessor 2	7		7	77			84	
Assessor 1	1		1	12			13	
Special Investigator 3A & Up		18	18		167	167		185
Special Investigator 1, 2	1		1	15		15	16	
Counsel 1 & Up		23	23				23	
Computer Programmer 3 & Up		41	41				41	
Computer Programmer 1, 2	6		6	2			8	
Taxation Officer 3 & Up					371	371		371
Taxation Officer 2					461	461		461
Taxation Officer 1				574		574	574	
Administration Officer 3 & Up		39	39		75	75		114
Administration Officer 1, 2		20	20		35	35		55
Personnel Officer or Administrator		5	5		18	18		23
Collection Officer				4			4	
Clerks	164		164	1,801		1,801	1,965	
Stenographers	33		33	228		228	261	
Typists	22		22	324		324	346	
Other	38		38	70		70	108	
TOTAL	272	254	526	3,107	2,192	5,299	3,379	2,446
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION	52%	48%	100%	59%	41%	100%	58%	42%

ADAPTED FROM: Department of National Revenue, Selected Tax Data (1965), p. 22

* Position classifications were allocated to the "\$6200 and Above" grouping when all or a majority of the gradations within the related salary range were at or above that level.

The Career Study interviews included people working in the Ottawa area at Head Office, at the Taxation Data Centre and in the District Office. We will discuss, for a moment, the nature of these three organizations.

Head Office

Under the Deputy Minister are five branch directors who report directly to him. The Assistant Deputy Minister works on complex, non-recurring problems, e.g., the Canada Pension Plan. Although the branch directors in the Head Office and the major district organizations are responsible directly to the Deputy Minister, they may refer to the Assistant Deputy Minister certain matters in which he is either currently involved or has special expertise.

The five main branches are the legal branch, assessments branch, administration branch, planning and development branch, and inspections branch. There are between 525 and 550 people in Head Office.

1. Legal Branch

Appeals Section

Enforcement Section

Advisory Section

Registration Section

This is one of the smaller branches with about 12% (67) of the head office staff. It provides legal advice to the Division. Over half of its personnel are in the appeals section which is staffed mainly by lawyers. They deal with objections that the taxpayer and the local district office have not been able to settle. This branch in collaboration with the Department of Justice, also prepares the case against persons taken to court for making a fraudulent return.

2. Assessments Branch

- Organization and Training Section

- Operations and Development Section

- Special Investigations Section

- Technical Section

- Review Section

- Provincial and International Relations Section

- Estate Tax Section

The main function of the branch is to interpret all tax legislation administered by the Division and to develop policies and procedures to put the terms of legislation into effect. These policies and procedures must be uniformly applied in all districts of the country. The branch also provides advice and assistance to the district offices on technical matters.

The Estate Tax Section operates quasi-independently of other sections and assumes responsibility, for the purposes of estate tax assessment, for the full range of functions that, in income tax assessments, are divided among a number of different branches.

3. Administration Branch

District Office Administration

Computer Systems Section

Collection and Technical Operations Section

Non-Computer Systems Section

Comptroller

Personnel Section

Organization and Classification Section

Financial Services Section

Canada Pension Plan

Head Office Management.

This is the largest of the five branches with more than a third of the total Head Office population. It contains four organizational groupings of which the District Office Administration is the most important although not the largest. It designs the actual administrative procedures to be used in the district offices. Here, it must take into account the possibilities and limits imposed by using computer techniques.

The Comptroller is generally responsible for the personnel policies of the Division. The sections here review establishment size, organizational and job classification changes, and division expenditures.

The Canada Pension Plan Section, the most recent addition to the Division, develops procedures for the collection of contributions under the Canada Pension Plan.

The Head Office Management group provides other Head Office units with a variety of services: stenographic and typing pool, office supplies, a central registry, and others.

4. Inspection Branch

This is a small branch, about 20 people in three inspection teams. Their main task is to conduct periodic audits of the transactions in the District Offices and Head Office and to present a critical and objective report of the results to the Deputy Minister. This permits greater central control over divisional efficiency.

There are two types of inspection: a "full" inspection and a "short" one. The first, lasting from 2 to 4 weeks depending on the office, is intended to cover comprehensively all facets of an office's operation. The short inspection

lasts about a week and is intended to be a follow-up on the full one. In the district offices, full inspections are alternated with short ones, each office being covered at least once every two years.

5. Planning and Development Branch

Computer Programming Section

Research Section

Statistics Section

This branch is responsible for the execution of studies and the development of long-range plans in the Division. They develop economic models that can be applied to the national tax system. The branch also gathers, analyzes, and publishes statistical information on taxation revenues and the Division's functioning.

The computer specialists located here design programs for the Assessments and Administration Branches. These permits much of the work of the two Branches to be handled at the Taxation Data Centre.

Taxation Data Centre

The Centre is the Division's centralized computer processing service. Established in 1961, the centre has become one of the fastest growing units in the Division. In early 1964 it had 80 continuing employees and around 1600 on the seasonal payroll. The Centre has produced a pronounced shift in the decentralization process of the Division. It now checks and processes all returns from the District Offices.

Although the Centre is responsible for processing and machine operations, the design of the procedures and computer program remains the task of the Head Office branches concerned.

District Office

The district office in Ottawa is one of 29 such offices dispersed throughout the country in most major centres. Toronto and Montreal are the largest with some 800 or more employees. The typical district office is a self-contained unit capable of assessing and collecting income, corporate, and estate taxes in the geographic area under its administration. Its organization is outlined in Diagram 5.

A district office, like the Ottawa one, is headed by a Director who is responsible to the Deputy Minister. The directors of the districts are placed in grade levels depending on the size of their staff, number of supervisory levels, complexity of the work load, volume of collection, and extent of responsibility for local personnel administration. But while the Director is formally responsible to the Deputy Minister, most of his directives come from the Assessments and Administration Branches. In effect, a district director is to implement the procedures laid out by these two Head Office branches as part of their uniform policy.

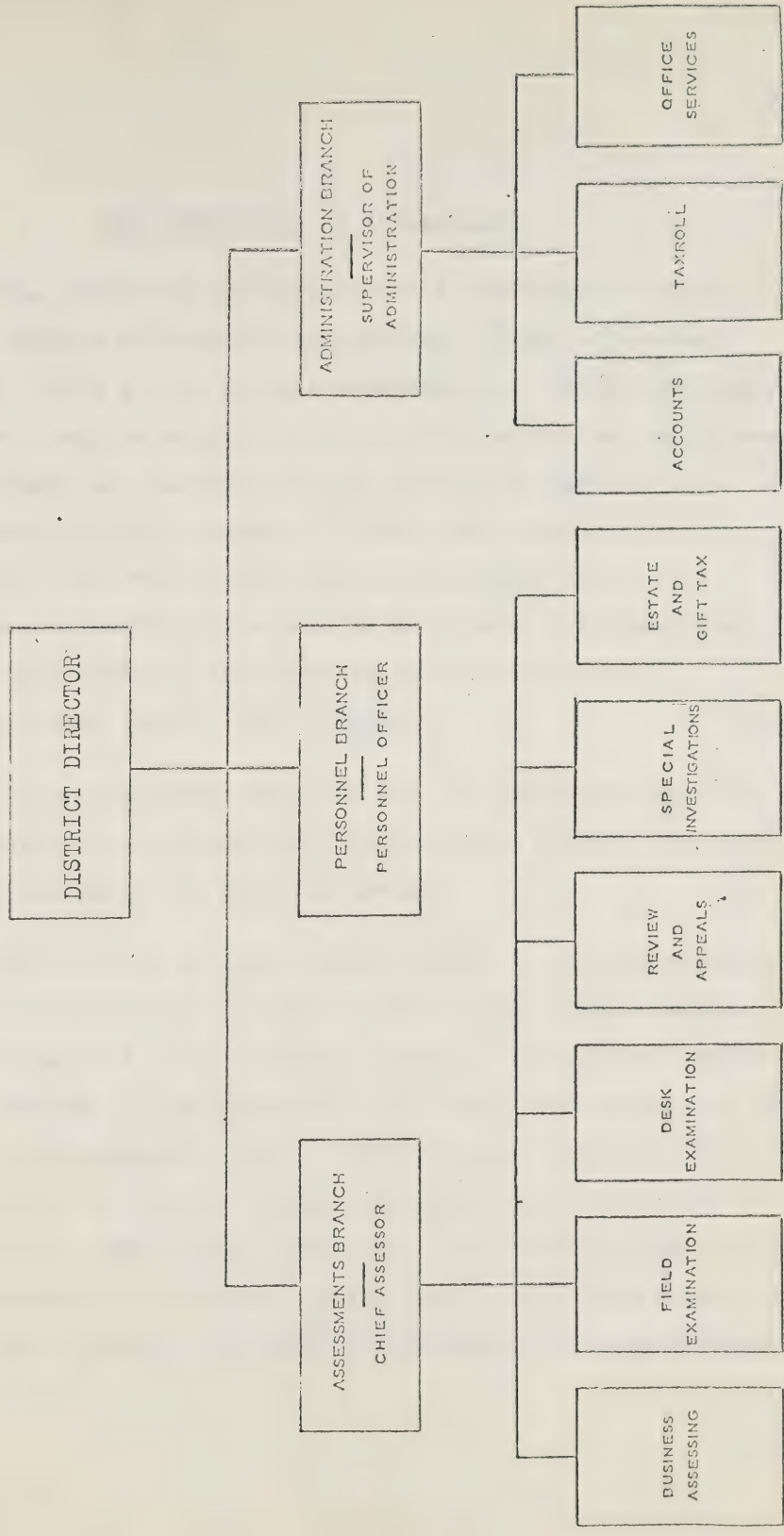
The district office is divided into three main parts, each one corresponding to a functional area maintained at Head Office. The office is subject to central control in these key areas: Assessments, Administration, and Personnel.

These then are bureaucratic settings that make up the Taxation Division of the Department of National Revenue. More about the structure of the department will be offered when we consider the career routes that lead from one segment of the department to another.

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL REVENUE (TAXATION DIVISION)

TYPICAL DISTRICT OFFICE ORGANIZATION

(October, 1965)



The Department of Agriculture

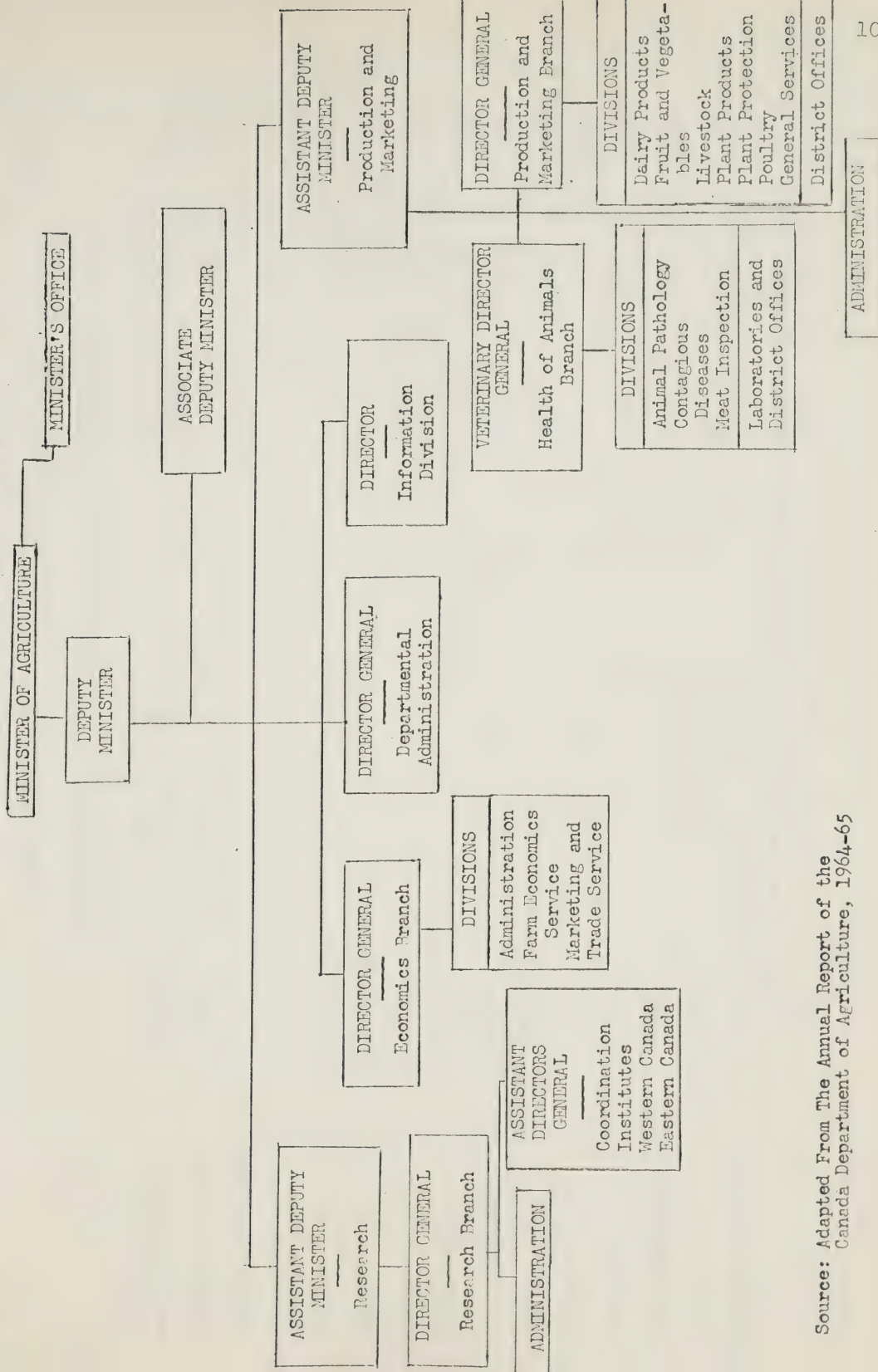
The Department of Agriculture's activities touch on most aspects of Canada's agricultural system. In broad terms, it is a dual purpose organization. On the one hand, it is a service organization providing advice and assistance to farmers and safeguarding the quality of agricultural produce put on the market. On the other hand, it is a research and development organization whose goal is to advance scientific knowledge in the field of agriculture. This dual emphasis is reflected in the departmental organization chart. (See Diagram 6)

Under the Deputy Minister are two Assistant Deputies: one heads up the Production and Marketing Branch, the other is in charge of the Research Branch.

Agriculture is the seventh largest of the departments. It contains a staff of about 8,000 located across Canada. (See Diagram 7) The Research Branch is the largest branch or division in the Department with about 3860 persons or 48% of the Departmental total. Production and Marketing Branch and Health of Animals Branch contain, respectively, 26% and 21% of all Agricultural personnel. The remaining 6% of the Department is distributed among three, small centralized units: Economics Branch, Departmental Administration, and Information Division.

Diagram 6
March 31, 1965.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE



Source: Adapted From The Annual Report of the
Canada Department of Agriculture, 1964-65

CANADA DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE - 1965-1966ESTABLISHMENT OF SEVERAL BRANCHES AND DIVISIONS.

<u>Provinces and Locations</u>	<u>Research</u>	<u>Dept'l Admin.</u>	<u>Economics</u>	<u>Info.</u>	<u>Health of Animals</u>	<u>Prod. & Mktg.</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Ottawa and Hull</u>	1164	272	105	74	196	421	2232
<u>London, England</u>						2	2
<u>Alaska</u>	16						16
<u>N.W.T.</u>	9						9
<u>Nfld.</u>	41				5	16	62
<u>P.E.I.</u>	85				8	94	187
<u>Nova Scotia</u>	174	1	5		35	71	286
<u>New Brunswick</u>	158	1			64	111	334
<u>Quebec</u>	282				308	259	849
<u>Ontario</u>	497	3			451	504	1455
<u>Manitoba</u>	186	1	7		154	110	458
<u>Saskatchewan</u>	394	1	10		109	131	645
<u>Alberta</u>	491	1	9		229	176	906
<u>British Columbia</u>	362	2	8		110	184	666
Total	3859	282	144	74	1669	2079	8107

Prepared for the Royal Commission
on B & B.
19 August, 1965.

The Research Branch contains a high proportion of scientists, with their support staffs, carrying out basic research. They conduct most of the agricultural research in Canada; one senior official estimated it was 70% of all agricultural research in the country. Those choosing to follow a career in agricultural research in Canada find few work settings apart from the Department in which to locate themselves. A later chapter in this report will delve more deeply into the structure of the Research Branch and the careers of the specialists it contains.

The Production and Marketing Branch, as its name suggests, attends to two main activities. On the production side, the Branch assists producers in developing animals and plants which will give the greatest amount of high-quality return in the shortest time. It checks out the feeds, fertilizers, and chemicals (insecticides, pesticides, etc.) used in agriculture. On the marketing side, it grades and inspects agricultural commodities. Part of this task involves inspecting the quality of goods in retail stores and attempting to find new and attractive ways of using Canadian food products so as to extend the use of these products.

The Health of Animals Branch contains three major divisions: Animal Pathology, Contagious Diseases, and Meat Inspection. The first two are responsible for studying,

controlling, and eradicating contagious diseases of livestock. The Animal Pathology Division investigates the causes and control of diseases and parasites infecting farm animals, poultry, fur-bearing animals, and wildlife. It maintains laboratories that provide diagnostic services and also manufacture serums for injection into diseased animals. The Contagious Disease Division is staffed by a large number of veterinarians who are in the field watching out for outbreaks of disease. The Meat Inspection Division examines all meat and poultry slaughtering, eviscerating, and processing plants registered in Canada. Inspectors examine the animals before and after slaughter, and ensure that all diseased, or otherwise unwholesome, meat intended for food is destroyed.

These three principal branches are all regionally organized.

In the Ottawa area, the Research Branch maintains its administrative headquarters and seven of its nine Research Institutes. The remaining two are at Belleville and London, Ontario. The "field" research units consist of 14 Research Stations, 27 Experimental Farms, one Research Laboratory, and 19 Substations spread from coast to coast and north into the Yukon and Northwest Territories.

The Production and Marketing Branch consists of six commodity divisions (Dairy Products, Fruit and Vegetables, Livestock, Plant Products, Plant Protection, and Poultry), each has a field organization with staff working in every province of Canada. A regional district is usually equivalent to one province, or, in some commodity divisions, two provinces.

Similarly, The Health of Animals Branch has staff distributed throughout Canada. The Contagious Disease Division and the Meat Inspection Division maintain seven district offices, each one headed by a District Officer who is responsible within his district for both contagious disease work and meat inspection. The district offices listed roughly in order of decreasing size are as follows: Ontario, Quebec, Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and the Maritimes. The Animal Pathology Division maintains its Head Laboratory in Hull and it has 8 laboratories in the provinces.

The Economics Branch, Information Division, and Departmental Administration are relatively small, centralized units.

The Economics Branch examines the place of agriculture in the Canadian economy. It came into existence in July, 1964 and has been engaged in research on the productivity of Canadian agriculture, the nature of farm incomes and expenditures, the impact of foreign agricultural and trade policies, and a great variety of other studies of the economic dimensions of Canadian agriculture. (About 73% of its personnel (105 out of 144) are located in Ottawa, yet it maintains five regional offices, one in each of the four western provinces and one in the Atlantic Provinces.

The entire Information Division of 74 persons is based in Ottawa. It covers two main fields of operations: Publications and News. The Publications Section edits, designs, publishes, and distributes departmental books and pamphlets; does studies of their effectiveness; and operates copy preparation, duplicating, and mailing-list pools for the Department. The News Section produces press articles, tape recorded radio programs, films, slide kits, and exhibits.

The Departmental Administration services the operations of this rather large and complex organization. Over 95% of its people (272 out of 282) are in the Ottawa area. They are divided among six divisions. Two divisions - Organization and Personnel, Property and Finance - manage the human and

physical resources of the Department. Management Services assists branches and units in achieving and maintaining efficient administration and operation. A Data Processing Service is available to the rest of the Department. Of the remaining two units, one is the Library and the other is a small group in Emergency Measures Planning who design programs that would be implemented in the event of a nuclear disaster.

In general outline, this is the formal structure of the Department of Agriculture. It harbors a large research establishment and animal specialists, as well as a considerable number of administrative generalists. The administrators interpret the findings and enforce the standards of the Department for the agricultural community. They carry on the work of the Department in diverse localities where their services are required by the agricultural industry.

The Department of Public Works

The Department of Public Works is now in the process of transition from one bureaucratic form to another. The Royal Commission on Government Organization (Glassco Commission) in 1962 recommended that the Department consider a fairly substantial delegation of authority to its field

offices. In accord with this directive, a team of management consultants was hired. In July, 1965, they delivered their proposals to the Department. The broad outlines of the reorganization were accepted and it is anticipated that the entire department will be restructured by 1970.

The Department with about 8,300 persons is sixth in order of size among the departments of the civil service. The principal function of the Department is the construction and maintenance of all federal government buildings, roads, bridges, wharves, and other properties. The account here will discuss both the current arrangement of organizational units that discharge this function, as well as the proposed scheme.

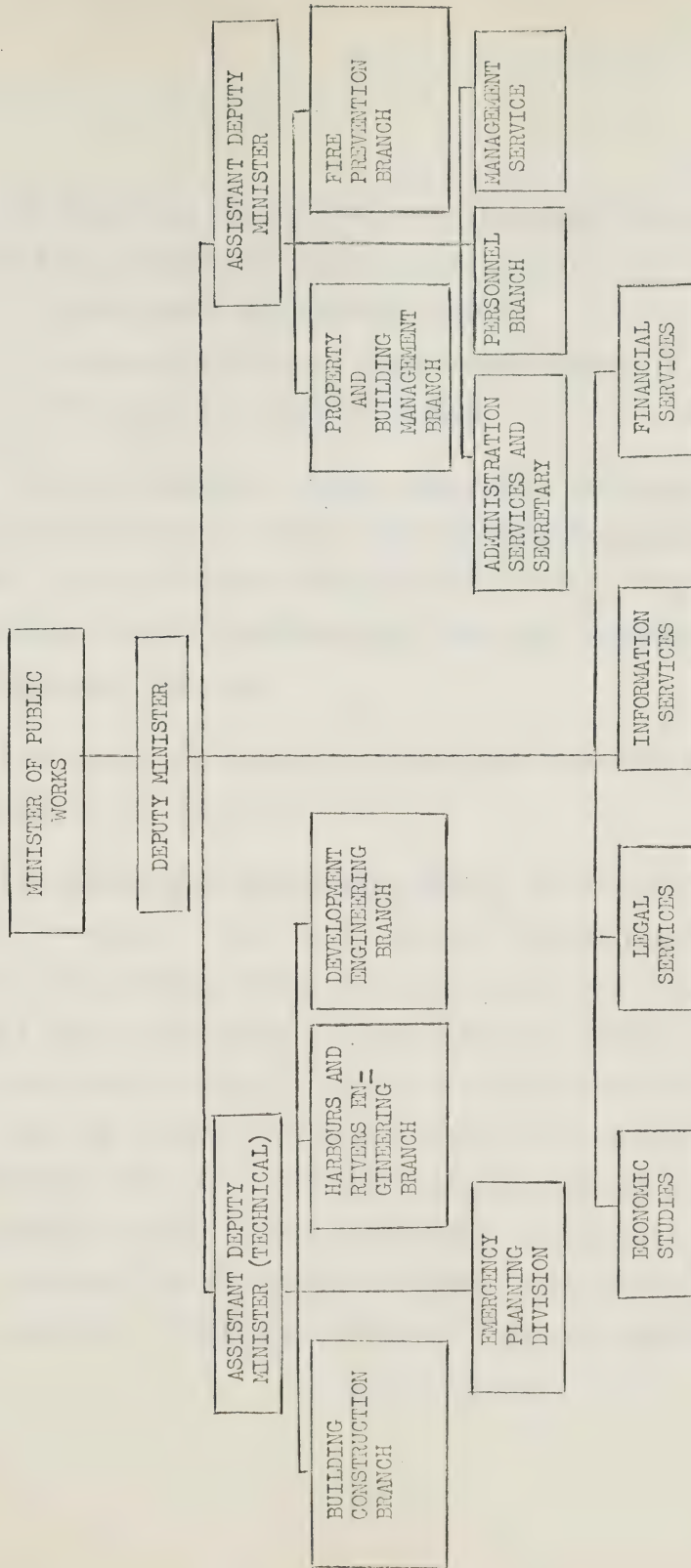
Organizational Structure - 1965

The current hierarchy has, at the top, the Deputy Minister, his two Assistants each responsible for several broad areas of operations, and four support staffs that report to the Deputy (Economic Studies, Legal Services, Information Services, Financial Services). (Diagram 8) The bulk of the Department lies under the two Assistant Deputies.

DIAGRAM 8

ORGANIZATION OF THE

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS - 1965



The Assistant Deputy Minister (Technical) is responsible for three major operating branches:

1. Development Engineering Branch
2. Harbours and Rivers Engineering Branch
3. Building Construction Branch

The other Assistant Deputy supervises one major operational branch - Property and Building Management Branch - and four lesser administrative units: Fire Prevention Branch, Administrative Services, Personnel Branch, and Management Services.

Each principal operating branch has a central as well as personnel in the field.

The Development Engineering Branch is involved in two kinds of programs. The first includes federal-provincial shared cost programs where the provinces do the construction and the federal government shares the cost. Examples are the Trans-Canada Highway and the Roads to Resources. Second, there are the projects which the branch carries out directly. The construction of interprovincial and international bridges, construction in the National Parks and the building of roads and bridges in the Northwest and Yukon Territories falls here. The branch has 10 district offices. Plans and specifications

are prepared locally and then reviewed at headquarters in Ottawa, except for plans for bridges and parks which are done in Ottawa.

The Harbours and Rivers Engineering Branch has two responsibilities:

1. Building and repairing marine works, harbours, wharves, breakwaters, protection works along navigable waterways, and other marine facilities.

2. Dredging main channels and harbours throughout Canada, except for the channels of the St. Lawrence Seaway which are under other jurisdictions.

The field organization consists of 14 district engineering offices.

The Building Construction Branch is the principal federal agency providing architectural, design, and engineering services to all government departments and agencies needing construction or alteration of buildings. It has a headquarters unit staffed by architects and engineers who define project requirements and exercise control over the field organization. Beneath the headquarters unit are 10 districts responsible for producing documents (plans and specifications), and for consulting and engineering services, and supervising construction contracts.

The Property and Building Management Branch is organized to deal with the management, maintenance, and repair of buildings owned or rented by the government. Its chief concern is adequate accommodations; providing suitable working places for government employees. It does not manage all the property owned by the federal government, rather it concentrates on general purpose or office buildings. Other departments manage specialized buildings: e.g., experimental farms by the Department of Agriculture, airports by the Department of Transport, and others. In addition, the branch is charged with the assembly and operation of a complete inventory of real property (land, buildings, engineering works) owned or leased by the federal government outside the defence sector. To perform these extensive activities the branch has about 6,000 employees, three-quarters of the total personnel in Public Works. They are located at headquarters and in five regions which, in turn, are broken down into district and area offices.

Organizational Structure - 1970

The new proposals consolidate the trend toward increased authority for regional offices. The organization envisages headquarters groups with staff responsibility for policy, planning, design of all significant or complex buildings,

designs of bridges, establishment of design criteria for engineering or marine structures, and for fostering the most effective liaison and communication with client departments. The field organization will have the clear responsibility for all construction, design of small buildings, design of engineering structures and marine works, and the day-to-day management of buildings.¹ The revised organization is outlined in Diagram 9.

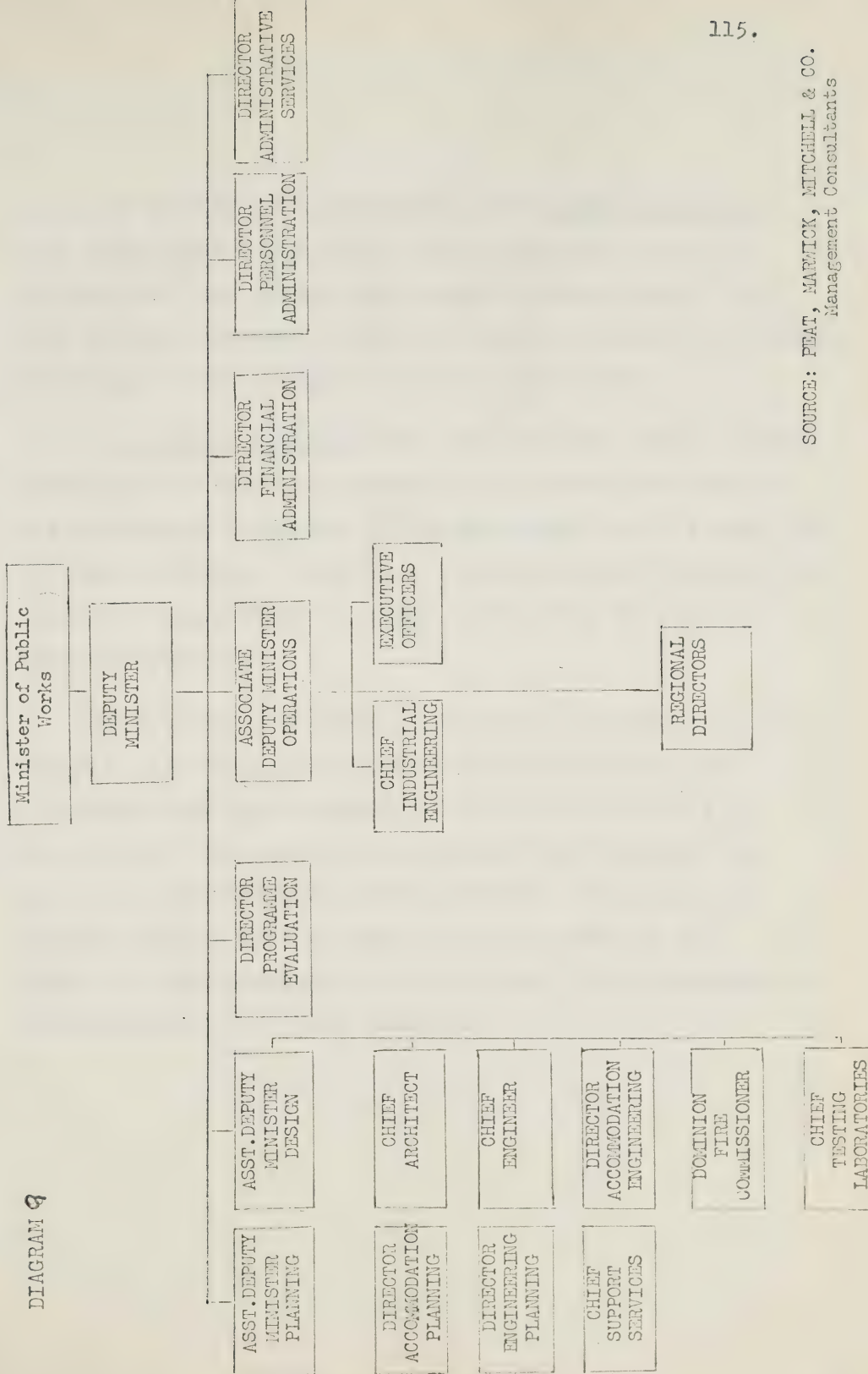
The key figure in the new plan is the Associate Deputy Minister (Operations). He directs the construction, property management, and certain design operations in the field in accordance with the overall operating plan approved by the Deputy Minister. The actual execution of programmes will be done by his six Regional Directors, one each in Western Canada, the Prairies, Ontario, National Capital Region, Quebec, and the Atlantic Region.

Two Assistant Deputy Ministers, one in charge of Planning, the other, of Design, will head centralized staffs. The Planning Directorate will maintain effective liaison with other government departments and develop long and short-term

1. Peat, Marwick, Mitchell and Co. The Proposed Organization, Department of Public Works (July, 1965).

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS - PROPOSED

DIAGRAM 9



plans for all accomodation matters. The Design Directorate will concentrate a significant body of persons skilled in architectural and engineering design at headquarters. They will provide designing services for major or complex government buildings, roads, bridges, and marine structures.

A Management Committee will draw together the most senior people so that the co-ordination of the overall construction and maintenance programmes of the department can be accomplished. The Deputy Minister would act as Chairman and the Associate and Assistant Deputy Ministers would attend along with certain other key personnel.

The proposed organization represents a significant change in the structural patterns of the Department with a corresponding major transfer of authority and duties to different or new organizational units. The Department is now in the midst of this massive overhaul. The actual and proposed changes have already had repercussions on the careers of many personnel in Public Works. These repercussions will be assayed in a later section.

Department of the Secretary of State

On October 1, 1966, the Department of the Secretary of State was, in effect, split into two Departments. That part of the Department administered by the Under Secretary of State remained; the part under the Deputy Registrar General (except for the Protocol Branch) was amalgamated with several other units to form the Department of the Registrar General. (See Diagram 10). Since the Career Study was conducted before the split, we are able to report on organizational units which later became located at the centre of two Departments.

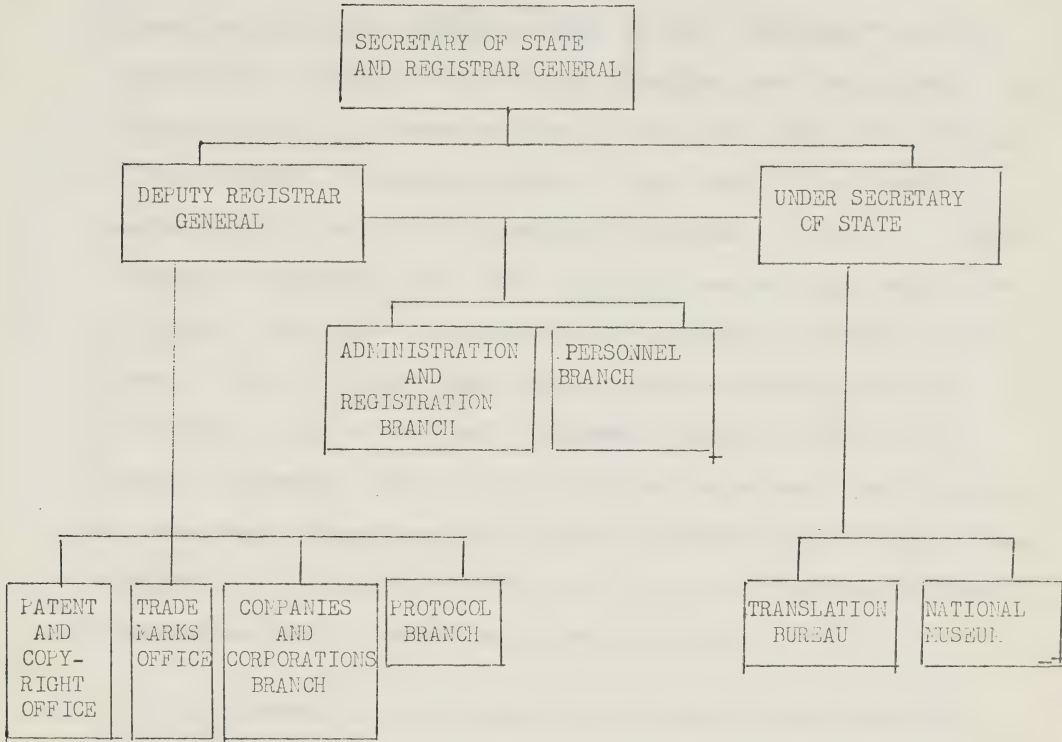
The new Department of the Registrar General is concerned with the following matters:

- (a) combines, mergers, monopolies and restraint of trade;
- (b) patents, copyrights, and trademarks;
- (c) bankruptcy and insolvency;
- (d) corporate affairs.

It is clear that those units previously in the Secretary of State - Patent and Copyright Office, Trade Marks Office, Companies and Corporations Branch - fall squarely under the terms of reference of the new Department. The present treatment, however, will treat these units as if they were still part of the Department of Secretary of State. It is too soon to know what effect the transfer from one department to a newly-created one will have.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT
OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE
(SUMMER 1966)

DIAGRAM 10



The remaining part of the Department, that controlled by the Under Secretary of State, contains the Translation Bureau and National Museum. This is the "cultural" sector responsible for the study of the Canadian past and present and for assisting the communication of the interests and findings of one official language group to the other. The Under Secretary is also the intermediary between a cluster of other "cultural" agencies and crown corporations and the Secretary of State. The Under Secretary is not legally responsible for these. Rather, these agencies and corporations have the Secretary of State as their spokesman in the Cabinet and House of Commons. The bodies included here would be the Board of Broadcast Governors, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporations, the National Gallery, the National Library, the Canada Council, the National Film Board, and several others.

Concurrent with the separation from the department of the units under the Deputy Registrar, there was a gain of new activities. Specifically, the responsibility for the promotion of citizenship, the supervision of elections, the conduct of State ceremonies and correspondence, and the custody of State records and documents fell upon the Department.

However, our report will focus on the two traditional bodies: Translation Bureau and the National Museum. The other cultural agencies and corporations fall outside our boundaries; the new responsibilities have not yet been allotted to organizational units.

Size and Functions of the Chief Units

The segment headed up by the Deputy Registrar General embraces 480 persons of whom 400 are in the Patent and Copyright Office. The trade Marks Office has a staff of 50 - 55 while the Companies and Corporations Branch has about 25 to 30 people. The two units under the Under Secretary of State, the Translation Bureau and the National Museum, contain respectively 420 and 165 persons.

The two main parts of the Secretary of State share common administrative and personnel services.

The National Museum is engaged in the study of man and the world around him, with special emphasis on Canada. The Museum is a centre of learning, an institution to gather, preserve, and study collections of material and to make available the acquired knowledge to the people of Canada and the world-wide scientific community. The work of the Museum

includes field studies, research in botany and zoology, enlargement of collections and establishment of new ones, preparation of research monographs and popular publications, and the arranging of exhibits and public lectures.

The National Museum has two main branches:

1. Natural History Branch

- a) Zoology
- b) Botany

2. Human History Branch

- a) Archaeology
- b) Ethnology
- c) History
- d) Canadian War Museum
- e) The National Aviation Museum. (This will form the basis of a new museum of science and technology).

The Translation Bureau is strictly a service agency - one which would not exist if there were not two official languages in Canada. The Bureau translates upon request, into English, French, and a number of foreign languages, departmental and other reports and documents, bills, statutes, proceedings, debates, and correspondence for all departments

of the civil service, the Senate, the House of Commons and various government agencies. Simultaneous interpretation of speeches made in the Senate and House of Commons is also the Bureau's responsibility.

The organizational structure of the Translation Bureau is depicted in Diagram 11. The person in charge of the Bureau is known as the Superintendent. Reporting to him is an Administrative Officer, a small (2 or 3 people) Terminology Division that decides on an equivalent in other languages for a new word, and an Assistant Superintendent. The bulk of the Bureau lies under the Assistant Superintendent.

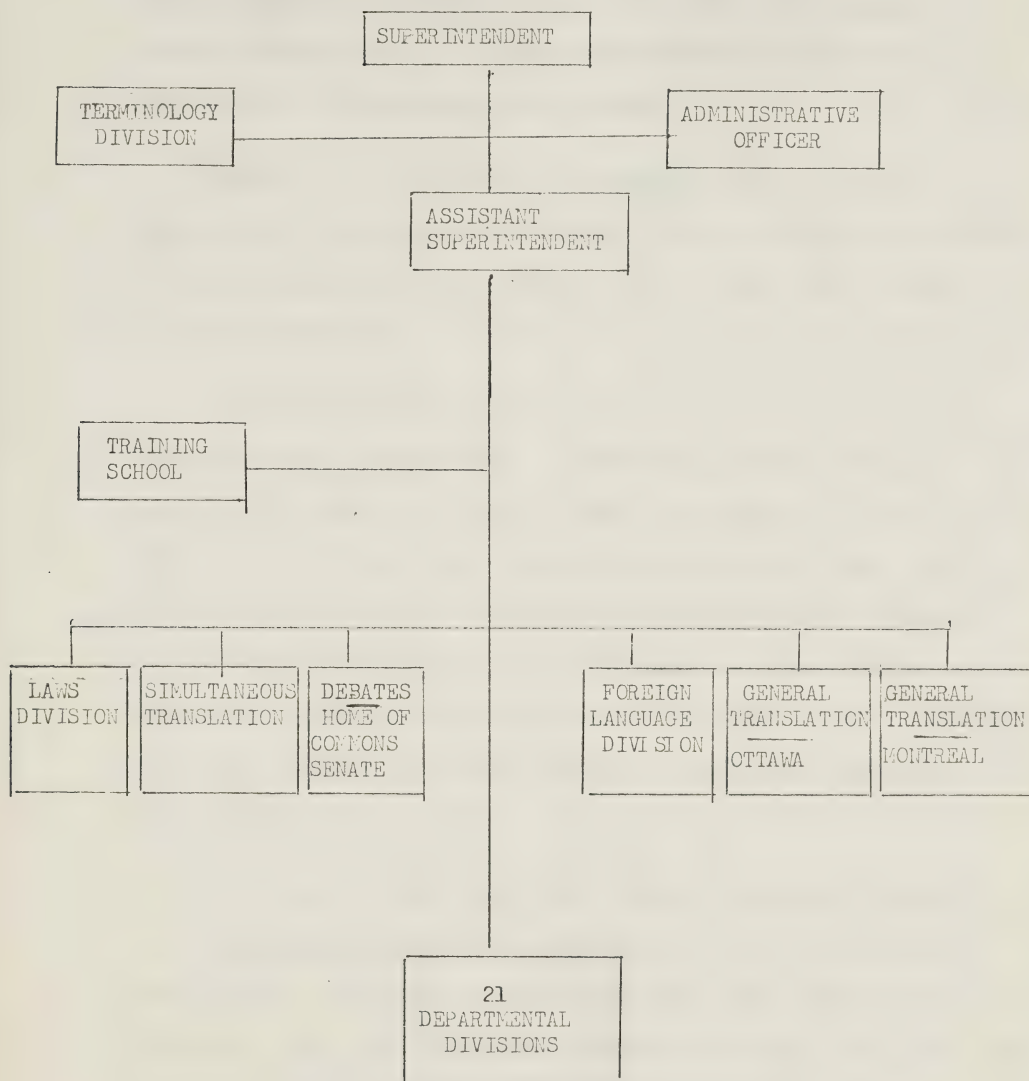
The Training School with a staff of three gives instruction to new recruits for a period of from six to twelve months. In the Laws Division a group of five translators handles the translation of legislation. Staff members here have to be lawyers as well as bilingual. The Foreign language Division has a roster of about 25 persons who translate into or from languages other than English and French.

A staff of thirty is assigned to the House of Commons and the Senate for the purpose of translating parliamentary proceedings. Another group provides simultaneous translation

ORGANIZATION OF THE BUREAU OF TRANSLATION

Diagram 11

(SUMMER 1966)



for the Commons and Senate. In addition, this service is used by other bodies: federal-provincial conferences, commonwealth conferences, and so on.

Twenty-one divisions are located within various departments and agencies to carry out the translation chores of these organizations. Nearly 60% of the Bureau staff is in these divisions.

General Translation is done in a central office in Ottawa and one in Montreal. These two offices work for agencies in which the Bureau does not maintain a unit, as well as on overload from departmental units. Also, they handle reports of the Committees of the House of Commons. The Montreal Office was set up because of the problem of recruiting competent translators to work in Ottawa. Thirty people work there on large blocks of text that have no urgent deadlines.

The largest unit under the Deputy Registrar General is the Patent and Copyright Office. It is headed by the Commissioner of Patents who administers the Patent Act, the Copyright Act, the Industrial Design and Union Label Act, and the Timber Marking Act. The consideration of a patent application entails a search of previous patents in order to

judge the novelty of the invention. The statute provides for the grant of a seventeen year exclusive right to the inventor (or his successor in title) in return for disclosing and making available to the public the product of his inventive talents. The Patent Office is divided into three main sections: mechanical, electrical, and chemical.

Persons can also apply to the Office for a Copyright that proves ownership of an original literary, dramatic, musical, or artistic work. The copyright is in force during the life of the author and for a period of fifty years after his death. Under the Industrial Design and Union Label Act the Office can approve the exclusive right to an industrial design for a period of five years. It can be renewed for a further period of five years.

The Trade Marks Office receives applications for trade marks and after the novelty of the new trade mark is demonstrated, it can be registered. In 1964-65, 7,355 applications were filed and 4,824 were approved for registration. In addition, the Office maintains a complete record of all Trade Marks registered under the Trade Marks Act and publishes the weekly "Trade Mark Journal". The journal contains, among other things, notices of applications for trade marks in order to give interested parties an opportunity to oppose the application.

The Companies and Corporations Branch issues letters patent that incorporate companies. The Branch maintains a complete record of the names of all Canadian companies incorporated under or by federal and provincial statutes. Annually, there are nearly 10,000 searches made of the records, of which half were to determine the availability of suggested corporate names and half were inquiries as to the existence of companies under specific names. The Branch also maintains a registry of Chambers of Commerce.

The small Protocol Branch is responsible for the planning of national ceremonies and visits to Canada of distinguished heads of State. The Branch is also responsible for producing The Guide to Relative Precedence at Ottawa and "Relative Precedence of High Officials of the Public Service at Ottawa".

These, then, are the specialized units that are amalgamated to form two main sectors, one in the "cultural" fields, the other in the legal field. As a result of specialization there is little, if any, circulation of personnel among the units or between the major sectors.

The Bilingual Environment

Now we have portrayed the differing bureaucratic structures of the five departments. But although they vary in structure and operational goals there is one constant factor they each confront - the Government of Canada establishes their conditions of work. All persons within the federal administration are subject to demands and regulations concerning their work laid down and enforced by the government or its agents. In recent years, this has included demands to increase the use of both official languages in the F.P.S. and to insure more active participation of educated French speakers in the civil service.

An increase in bilingualism is seen as reaping benefits on two fronts. In the first place, it will guarantee service of equal quality to both language groups. Persons whose mother tongue is French (francophones) will be able to deal with the government and receive replies from it in the language with which they are most intimately acquainted. In the second place, an increased French atmosphere will attract what has until recently been an untapped human resource for the government, the educated French Canadian. Both goals are regarded by the government as making the public service a more effective and efficient instrument. The English public servants take a rather different view as we shall see in a moment.

The concerns of the government are seen in such actions as the statement made by Prime Minister Pearson to the House of Commons on April 6, 1966. He announced that bilingual skills, or the willingness to acquire them, are to be considered an element of merit in the selection of persons for posts where the need for bilingualism exists. This policy will be supported by a strengthened and expanded programme of language training.

The first step involves the recruitment of university graduates for administrative trainee and foreign service positions. Persons entering these fields after 1967 will be required to have reasonable proficiency in the two official languages or be willing to embark on a training course until they acquire it. Also, executive and administrative positions in centres where a need exists for both languages, will become bilingual posts and require such skills of persons recruited to them in the future. Finally, a programme is to be arranged to permit some twenty English-speaking and ten French-speaking civil servants from the most senior ranks to have "total immersion" in the other language and, at the other end of the civil service hierarchy, a bonus is announced for clerical and secretarial persons who must work in both languages to perform their duties.

However, those in professional scientific, and technical positions in the civil service, and those in the Armed Forces and Crown Corporations are not covered by the bilingual requirements. The civil service groups which pose special problems and difficulties for the bilingual policy are the very ones that make up the core of the sub-elite. Hence, the French and the English in professional, scientific, and technical careers are left uncertain as to the extent to which a bilingual environment will prevail in their fields in the federal government of the future.

But, if government policy about bilingualism in the sub-elite is hesitant, those English speakers already entrenched there are not. They regard the increased use of French as inefficient, an unnecessary duplication. Hence, the government view of efficiency clashes directly with that of the civil servants.

With regard to the increased use of French, top departmental officials, with few exceptions, regard it as superfluous at the senior levels. They claim there are pressures on the federal bureaucracy to use English as the working language. Most of clients with which departments deal are English-speaking, aside from those departments which provide regional services in Quebec or south-eastern Ontario. Even

in Quebec, the business and financial community has been largely English-speaking. Large national organizations and pressure groups (Chamber of Commerce, Industry or Trade associations, ethnic associations) present their briefs to the government in English. Many international organizations (International Monetary Fund, World Bank) are English-speaking and in bilateral negotiation with most foreign countries, France and Belgium are exceptions, English is spoken. The international language of other fields, e.g., patents and trademarks, is English. As well, most Cabinet ministers, officials of the control agencies (Treasury Board, Civil Service Commission), and the senior management group in the departments are English-speaking.

As well, those departments that operate field services in French-speaking regions are shielded from the use of French at headquarters. Although the regional office may operate as a French unit, communications between its senior personnel and Ottawa headquarters can be conducted in English (e.g., National Revenue, Agriculture).

Not only are there pressures to use, or to increase the use of English but French Canadians make it easy for federal civil servants to speak English (or, conversely, do not create pressures to learn and speak French). In the

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headquarters staff of the departments it is rare if not impossible to encounter a sector of unilingual French Canadians. The French representatives from Quebec universities, companies, or provincial government who deal with Ottawa are predominantly bilingual. Whenever English-speaking federal civil servants have dealings with this variety of French Canadian, they claim that there is no problem in communication because both are able to deal in English. It would be "nice" to be able to speak to these people in their own language but this is not necessary.

With regard to the increased participation of French speakers at the senior levels, the English speakers invoke the principle of recruitment and promotion according to "merit" as a counter to government demands that greater use should be made of talented French Canadians. They regard the introduction of bilingual requirements as an attempt to tamper with the merit system.

Their argument is that at the officer level, positions should be awarded to the person most capable of doing the job whether he is French, English, or something else. Except in areas where the person regularly needs French to deal with clients of the government, the fact that one person is unilingual English and another bilingual should not matter. For most types of government work, bilingual capacity does not yield a unique advantage.

On the other hand, the principle of a representative bureaucracy is generally affirmed. The senior civil servants believe that their department ought to be a microcosm of Canada, that is, it ought to contain persons from all regional, social class, ethnic and linguistic groupings in the country. This is particularly apparent in those departments that have country-wide operations. They are sensitive about having persons in their upper echelons who are acquainted with the problems or can deal with persons from various regions, language groups, or whatever. At the extreme, this results in the "figurehead", a person appointed to a high post to satisfy a particular interest but who lacks effective power in the department.

French Canadians are taken in on the grounds of increasing the representativeness of the upper civil service, but only if they are well-qualified to do the work. French Canadians are not to be appointed just for the sake of increasing their participation rate.

However, there is some measure of convergence between politicians and bureaucrats concerning French participation. Both regard an influx of French speakers as a positive goal but the departmental officials would add the rider that they would have to be as talented as other applicants.

This then is the environment in which the departments function and the non-English speakers are received. In succeeding chapters we will develop some of these themes further and more accurately. The effect of the contending ideologies on both the dominant British group and the various minority groups in the federal administration will be scrutinized in detail.

· CHAPTER 5

CAREER TYPES AND FRENCH REPRESENTATION

A career is an ordered sequence of work roles through which a person moves; the sequence is socially recognized and persistent. To undertake a career means that one embarks on a route, with certain predictable stages, leading through the work world, and, at the same time, one acquires a public label. Persons are socially identified by the career routes they are following: lawyer, policeman, barber, artist, nurse, and so on.

To speak of a "civil servant" as a distinct career type is hopeless. On the other hand, federal departments contain a boggling array of specialties and career patterns. It is possible to construct a seemingly endless list of the strange careers located here. A study of the civil service must avoid these extremes. One approach taken here will be to rise above the departmental peculiarities and minor specialties to identify more abstract career types that cross-cut several departments.

However, to clarify the more abstract findings, it is imperative to look closer at certain particular career categories. Of prime interest are those whose style of work sets the tone for, if not dominates, the Department in which they are based. Persons following a similar career share a common attitude about what matters in their work. Consciously or unwittingly, they impose on others definitions of the "proper" way of achieving departmental goals. Hence, to illuminate the inner workings of a department scrutiny of the views of persons in the dominant career group will be paramount.

The following section will treat the departments in turn and identify the major and minor career specialties that are found within them. After this exercise, the more abstract career types will be described. The particular careers that have been amalgamated to form the three principal career types will be outlined.

But, first, let us examine the extent of French representation in that sector of the sub-elite under study.

French Representation

It will be recalled that in the five departments 920 persons fell within the established salary and age brackets. (Table 2.1). This population was split into two groups: English and French.

The first and most obvious fact is the under-representation of careerists with ties to the French linguistic community. Of the total population at this level, only 152 persons or 16.5% could be designated as French. This is well below their proportion in the total population or labour force, where at least one quarter are French.

The representation of French varies markedly from one department to another. On one extreme, Agriculture possesses only 9% French and Finance 11% at the officer level. In the middle are Public Works with 14% and National Revenue with 18%. The greatest concentration of French is in State where a third were so designated. However, the French in State are located in one sector, not generally distributed throughout the department. In the segment including the Translation Bureau and National Museum they make up 42 (55%) of the total 76.

Forty-one of the 42 are in the Translation Bureau where they compose 82% of the personnel. That part of State under the Registrar-General (Patent and Copyright Office, Companies and Corporations Branch, Trade Mark Office) has but 12% of its staff French. Hence, while Finance and Agriculture are largely English preserves, French dominates the Translation Bureau.

Occupational Composition of the Departments

Before proceeding further it should be underlined that in the following tables showing the distribution of occupations in the population, and where applicable, the random sample drawn from it, there is no significant difference between population and sample. The chi-square test was used to assess the "goodness of fit" between sample and population. In no case did the sample differ beyond acceptable limits from the population. The test details are to be found in Appendix 4.

Finance

The dominant career pattern in the Finance department is that leading from Finance Officer to Senior Officer. These posts made up about 80% of the English sample and population. Only 6 French persons at the required age and salary level were located, but 5 of the 6 were either Finance or Senior Officers.

<u>FINANCE</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>		<u>FRENCH</u> <u>POPULATION</u>
	<u>SAMPLE</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>	
Finance Officer	21	32	3
Senior Officer	2	6	2
Admin. Officer	4	8	0
Technical Officer	1	1	1
Accountant	0	1	0
	<u>28</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>6</u>

The Finance Officers have six grades to pass through, then there are two levels in the Senior Officer category. At the lower levels the Finance Officer is mainly involved in analysing and preparing information on economic matters pertinent to the department's operations. The officer usually works alone or in a small group on a fact-finding project for his superiors. As he proceeds upwards in the department he is more likely to participate in dealings with other government bodies and perhaps do a stint abroad on an international body. A special chapter will develop these and additional themes in the Finance man's career.

The remaining Administrative and Technical Officers are located in the two marginal units in the Department: Guaranteed Loans and Municipal Grants. They carry out fairly low-powered administrative responsibilities in connection with several financial acts supervised by the Department.

National Revenue

The key positions in the department are held by people following two types of professional careers: Accountants and Lawyers. As indicated below, the Assessors, who must have chartered accountancy certificate, and the Counsels (lawyers) make up a sizeable proportion of the personnel. Another type of specialist career, the computer expert is rapidly gaining in importance. For instance, the one person listed as a Director attained this lofty position at a young age by being in on the early planning of the Ottawa Data Centre. These professionals are nearly all located at the Head Office.

<u>NATIONAL REVENUE</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>		<u>FRENCH</u>
	<u>SAMPLE</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>
Assessors	12	55	9
Taxation Officers	4	10	10
Computer Programmers	3	29	5
Director, Taxation	1	3	0
Administrative Officers	11	37	4
Special Investigator	1	9	2
Tax Counsel	1	2	2
Special Counsel	0	4	1
Other	0	5	0
	<u>33</u>	<u>154</u>	<u>33</u>

The Taxation Officers are found in the Taxation Data Centre and Ottawa District Office. Their main tasks are to audit income tax returns or to provide advice to the public and business firms about the filing of returns. A background in Commerce at the university level is favored for this job but persons with an education as low as second year high school can gain entry. The Tax Officer career line can be ascended to a fairly high level but there is much encouragement to get an accountancy certificate and move into the Assessor stream.

The Administrative Officers are spread throughout the three main parts of the Taxation Division in the Ottawa Area. It is a "catch-call" classification that encompasses persons with fairly low education. Some of them are following careers similar to the Tax Officers while others are in general supervisory functions.

Agriculture

There are two major occupational groupings in Agriculture. The numerically dominant career pattern is that of the agricultural researcher: Research Officers and Research Directors. These two categories contributed about 52-54 per cent of the English sample and population,

and 43% of the French population. Also in this major group were workers that assisted the research program: Technical Officers, Technicians, Chemists. A later chapter will be devoted to this research group.

The second collection of careerists includes those that execute the service activities of the department: Veterinarians, Agricultural Commodity Officers, Home Economists. There are a few Veterinarians at Head Office but most are in the Hull area either doing meat inspection at Canada Packers or working in the Hull Laboratory. The Hull Lab also contains other persons with veterinarian training but they are conducting research. The Agricultural Commodity Officers at Head Office supervise those in the field who test animals and examine the feeds, seeds, fertilizers, and pesticides brought on the market. They also licence and register those who ship produce. Their careers involve moving up through various levels of administrative responsibility. The Home Economists develop methods of food preparation and preservation, and disseminate their findings so that Canadian citizens can get greater use out of native foods.

<u>AGRICULTURE</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>		<u>FRENCH POPULATION</u>
	<u>SAMPLE</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>	
Research Officer	18	139	12
Research Director	2	6	0
Technical Officer	5	16	1
Technician	2	5	2
Chemist	0	7	1
Veterinarian	0	11	5
Agricultural Commodity Officer	3	18	1
Home Economist	1	3	1
Economist	3	17	1
Public Information Officer	1	3	0
Personnel Administrator	1	5	1
Administrative Officer	0	21	2
Management Analyst	0	1	1
Draftsman	1	4	0
Engineer	0	6	0
Other	0	17	0
	<u>37</u>	<u>279</u>	<u>28</u>

The few remaining positions are in several Head Office career lines. They work to provide expert advice about agricultural matters (Economists) or support services for the operating branches of the department (Public Information Officer, Personnel Administrator, Administrative Officer, Management Analyst, Draftsman, Engineer).

Public Works

Those following careers in Engineering and Architecture dominate Public Works. They hold the key positions and their style of work and thought permeates the department. In their projects they are assisted by a large corps of Technical Officers and several Draftsmen. The Technical Officers usually lack professional certification, but they work on special aspects of engineering and building projects and design work under the supervision of a professional employee.

<u>PUBLIC WORKS</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>		<u>FRENCH</u>
	<u>SAMPLE</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>
Engineer	13	52	9
Architect	5	18	0
Technical Officer	12	63	11
Draftsman	1	5	
Administrative Officer	1	10	4
Personnel Administrator	0	2	2
Information Officer	0	0	1
Economist	0	0	1
Other	0	16	0
Not Given	0	7	0
	<hr/> 32	<hr/> 173	<hr/> 28

The small remaining collection of persons are mostly following careers in general administration as Personnel Administrators or Information Officers.

State

The Secretary of State was the only department in which there existed a sizeable enough population of French to require drawing a sample. As can be seen from the Table below the make-up of the French and English samples and populations is quite different.

<u>STATE</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>		<u>FRENCH</u>	
	<u>SAMPLE</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>	<u>SAMPLE</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>
Patent Examiner	27	76	7	10
Translator	3	7	21	37
Interpreter	0	1	2	4
Biologist	4	15	0	0
Technical Officer	2	6	0	1
Solicitor	1	2	1	1
Administrative Officer	1	3	1	2
Special Assistant	0	0	1	1
Other	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
	38	114	33	57

On the French side, more than two-thirds are in careers as Translators or Interpreters. On the English side, two-thirds are in the Patent Office. Translators and Patent Examiners, who are mainly engineering graduates, each are the subject of special chapters further on in the report.

Among the balance of the French, about a fifth of the total are engineers in the Patent Office. The remaining few are administrators either Administrative Officers or lawyers, one of whom is a Special Assistant to the Cabinet Minister.

The third of the English who are not Patent Examiners are carving out careers as Translators, social or natural scientists and curators in the Museum (classified as Biologists or Technical Officers), and departmental administrators.

Major Career Types

In summary, consider the variety and range of work areas located in the five departments chosen.

Finance:	Highly educated policy-makers
National Revenue:	Accountants, lawyers, computer specialists, career administrators
Agriculture:	Research scientists, technical experts who serve the agricultural industry
Public Works:	Engineers, architects, career administrators
Secretary of State:	Translators, culture specialists (museum curators, social scientists and historians), engineers, lawyers.

As mentioned earlier, to grasp the inner workings of the departments it will be imperative to look at the dominant occupational groups within each one. At the sub-elite level most persons follow "one department" careers. The structure of the department which contains them looms large in their work lives.

In addition, however, there are common problems confronted by persons following a particular career type, no matter the department in which they are found. To illuminate these, three broad career types have been identified. Each career type is a collection of persons from various departments who are carving out careers in related fields of work within the federal administration.

1. Scientists and Professionals

These are careers based on the possession of specialized training at the university level. The scientists usually have one or more post-graduate degrees (M.A., Ph.D) and are currently engaged in research. The agricultural researchers as well as several chemists, anthropologists, and economic researchers are included here. Professionals provide expert advice for their client, the government, based on their training in an established professional field. Lawyers, architects, engineers, translators, veterinarians and accountants are classed under the professional rubric.

2. Technical and Semi-Professionals

These are careers in which persons do complex operations in an area related to one of the sciences or professions but they lack the university or other credentials that would permit them to obtain elite positions. In this category fall the computer specialists, draftsmen, technical support staff in Agriculture and Public Works, designers, and home economists.

3. Administrators

This category encompasses the broad area of work in which the principal activity is the development of policy or the management of persons, or both. Careers in this field require skill in presenting ideas or in handling men. Men in this field are typically generalists with a non-specialist university education (e.g., history, commerce, economics, political science). The Finance Officers are placed here as well as a variety of personnel officers, public relations men, and senior administrators and planners.

When pertinent, a fourth group is extracted from the first two. These are persons who have been trained in a scientific, professional, or technical field but now indicate that a large portion of their work is administrative. They no longer work solely in their special field; they have abandoned their original training to supervise the activities of others. Because their career involves the blending of the diverse skills of a specialist and an administrative generalist they have been labelled Hybrids.

In Table 5.1 below, the distribution of the French and English among the three career types is shown.

TABLE 5.1

Linguistic Group by Career Type A.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Scientific- Professional</u>	<u>Technical and Semi- Professional</u>	<u>Administrative</u>
French (N=128)	100.0	50.8	24.2	25.0
English (N=168)	100.0	52.4	24.4	23.2

There is no significant difference between the language groups.¹ However, from Table 5.2, it is apparent that the French more than the English have embellished their professional, scientific, and technical roles with administrative responsibilities. While about 18% of the English can be considered Hybrids, some 26% of the French fall into this category. The difference, however, is not statistically significant.

TABLE 5.2

Linguistic Group by Career Type B.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Scientific- Professional</u>	<u>Technical and Semi- Professional</u>	<u>Hybrid</u>	<u>Adminis- trative</u>
French (N=128)	100.0	37.5	11.7	25.8	25.0
English (N=168)	100.0	42.9	14.9	17.9	24.4

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1. Appendix 5 explains the procedure for identifying significant differences between categories. In general, the larger the number of cases in the categories being compared, the smaller the percentage needed to establish statistical significance. In the present case, when the direction of the difference between the total French (128) and total English (168) is not predicted beforehand, a percentage difference of about 10 points or more is necessary to establish significance. When a subgroup of the French is compared to a subgroup of the English (and the direction of the difference has not been predicted beforehand) a larger percentage difference is necessary to establish significance.

The analysis will now take a chronological tack. It will treat in order the social origins and education of these careerists, their work experience outside the government, the reasons they join the civil service, and their satisfaction with the civil service once they are in. A final section will assess how bilingualism has impinged on their careers.

SECTION THREE

THE HUMAN RESOURCES DRAWN

INTO THE SUB-ELITE

CHAPTER 6

THE SOCIAL ORIGINS AND EDUCATION

OF THE CAREERISTS

Unlike the rather homogeneous elite, the sub-elite is a rather fluid, heterogeneous place. It draws amply from a wide range of significant social groupings in the Canadian mosaic - new and old Canadians, the several regions of Canada, rural and urban areas, the various social class levels - all groupings in fact, except from the French-speaking population of Canada. This, then, is the theme and conclusion of the present chapter.

The Porter and Newman accounts of the elite that were previously referred to, stressed the similarity in background and tastes of the persons located at this level. This rather uniform body stands over and above a very diverse sub-elite. The question for the future is whether this diversity will seep upwards into the elite. Indeed, there are pressures afoot to increase the openness of the elite but the results so far are uncertain. For instance, there are certain mechanisms that can protect elite exclusiveness. A selective process

operates that sorts prospective elite members out from the rest of the sub-elite. The outcome is that only persons who possess traits favored by the elite gain entry. One important device here is the crucial function of certain departments as "feeders" into the elite. In the chapter on the Finance Officer, the manner in which minority group members are subtly eased out of the running for elite positions is thoroughly considered. Here we wish only to point to the dramatic contrast between elite and sub-elite.

Geographical Origins

The civil service sub-elite contains a substantial proportion of "New Canadians", recent immigrants who represent a "brain gain" for Canada.

Like the managerial, professional-technical labour force, the civil service sub-elite draws in a sizeable body of recent immigrants to Canada. Slightly more than a fifth of both groups are born outside the country. In the sub-elite, about 9% are British born. But the bulk of the sub-elite - about three-quarters of them - are native Canadians.

TABLE 6.1

Place of Birth - A Comparison of the Civil
Service Sub-Elite to The Labour Force

	<u>FRENCH SUB-ELITE</u>	<u>ENGLISH SUB-ELITE</u>	<u>TOTAL SUB-ELITE</u> ¹	<u>MAN-PRO LABOUR FORCE</u> ²	<u>TOTAL LABOUR FORCE</u> ²
CANADA	93.0	74.4	77.6	79.2	78.6
UNITED KINGDOM	0.0	10.7	8.8	8.0	6.6
OTHER	7.0	14.9	13.6	12.8	14.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	128	168	296	1,167,951	6,471,850

1. This and all subsequent totals for the sub-elite are "weighted". They are derived by giving the English group extra weight and devaluing the French. This is done because the English samples represent a much larger group while the French often are the complete population in their departments.
2. Here and in all future tables the figures are derived from Census of Canada, 1961.

A different picture emerges when one compares French and English. Over 90 per cent of the French are born in Canada, but only 74% of the English. It is apparent then, that while the English sub-elite draws in a sizeable contingent of persons born abroad, such an extensive labour pool does not exist for the French.

Of the persons born within Canada, nine out of ten of the French are from either Ontario or Quebec (Table 6.2). In fact, half of the French sub-elite is from Quebec and 40% from Ontario. This represents a decided over-representation of Ontario French since only about 8% of the Canadian French population resides there. The English sub-elite, on the other hand, contains a large corps (32%) from Western Canada. But, like the French the central provinces contribute a majority of persons to the English group. However, unlike the French, only 6% were born in Quebec but 49% in Ontario. The Quebec figure is not exceedingly low if it is considered that only 6.5% of the Canadian English-speaking population lives in Quebec. There are relatively more English than French drawn from the Maritimes, but in both groups the proportion is quite small.

TABLE 6.2

Linguistic Group By Place of Birth
(Those Born in Canada Only)

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>WESTERN CANADA</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>MARITIMES</u>
FRENCH (N=119)	100.0	4.2	39.5	51.3	5.0
ENGLISH (N=125)	100.0	32.0	48.8	6.4	12.8
TOTAL SUB-ELITE (N=243)	100.0	26.5	47.0	15.2	11.3

A further suggestive finding about the cultural environment in which the target population was raised concerns the place where they attended secondary school. The teenage years are significant in the formation of aspirations and attitudes. Hence, the very different environments from which the French and English emerge are of consequence for explaining some of the variance in their behavior.

TABLE 6.3

Linguistic Group By Place of Secondary Schooling

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>OTTAWA -- HULL</u>	<u>REST OF ONTARIO</u>	<u>MONT- REAL</u>	<u>REST OF QUEBEC</u>	<u>MARI- TIMES</u>	<u>WESTERN CANADA</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
FRENCH (N=128)	100	43.0	7.8	13.3	23.4	3.9	3.1	0	5.5
ENGLISH (N=168)	100	17.9	22.0	3.6	1.8	8.9	25.0	10.7	10.1

Of first interest is the large percentage (43%) of French in the sub-elite from the Ottawa-Hull area. Only 18% of the English attended high school here before joining the civil service. Montreal and the rest of Quebec figure in the backgrounds of 37% of the French but only 5% of the English.

TABLE 6.4.

Departmental Linguistic Group By Place

of Secondary Schooling

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>OTTAWA- HULL</u>	<u>REST OF QUEBEC</u>	<u>REST OF ONTARIO</u>	<u>MARITIMES</u>	<u>WEST</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
ENGLISH FINANCE (N=28)	100.0	25.0	7.2	7.1	3.6	39.3	14.3	3.6
ENGLISH STATE (N=38)	100.0	7.9	0.0	28.9	13.2	26.3	7.9	15.8
ENGLISH AGRICULTURE (N=37)	100.0	21.6	5.4	21.6	2.7	27.0	8.1	13.5
ENGLISH PUBLIC WORKS (N=32)	100.0	12.5	12.5	21.9	12.5	9.4	15.6	15.6
ENGLISH NATIONAL REVENUE (N=33)	100.0	24.2	3.0	27.3	12.1	24.2	9.1	0.0
FRENCH FINANCE (N=6)	6	0	4	1	0	1	0	0
FRENCH STATE (N=33)	100.0	30.3	39.4	3.0	9.1	3.0	0.0	15.2
FRENCH AGRI- CULTURE (N=28)	100.0	32.1	50.0	7.1	0.0	3.6	0.0	7.1
FRENCH PUBLIC WORKS (N=28)	100.0	60.7	25.0	3.6	7.1	3.6	0.0	0.0
FRENCH NATIONAL REVENUE (N=33)	100.0	57.6	27.3	15.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

The Ottawa region provides a greater source of French talent for some departments than others. (Table 6.4) The large service departments - National Revenue and Public Works - draw respectively, 58% and 61% of their French employees from the local market. In career terms, 66% of the administrators and 58% of the technical workers are drawn from the ranks of the Ottawa French. On the other hand, only 24% of the professionals and scientists come from here. Half of this latter group were raised in Quebec. Hence, the posts requiring French persons with specialist training are more likely to be filled by those from Quebec than by the native Ottawans.

TABLE 6.5

Career Type A By Place of Secondary Schooling
(English Only)

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>OTTAWA</u> <u>-HULL</u>	<u>REST OF</u> <u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>MARI-</u> <u>TIMES</u>	<u>WESTERN</u> <u>CANADA</u>	<u>U.K.</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
PROFESSIONAL- SCIENTIFIC (N=88)	100.0	5.7	25.0	4.5	13.6	22.7	12.5	15.9
TECHNICAL- SEMI-PRO (N=41)	100.0	35.9	30.8	5.2	2.6	12.8	7.7	5.1
ADMINISTRA- TIVE (N=39)	100.0	26.8	7.3	7.3	4.9	41.5	9.8	2.4

Western Canada is an important source of talent for the English sub-elite; about a quarter in every department studied, except Public Works, were raised there. (Table 6.4) Of note is that 42% of the administrators and 44% of the English Finance officers spent their early life in the West. (Table 6.5) The Ottawa-Hull area contributes only 6% of the professional-scientific staff but 27% of the administrators and 36% of the technical and semi-professionals. The rest of Ontario, apart from Ottawa, was where a quarter of the specialists (professionals - scientists) and 31% of the technical and semi-professionals spent their teenage years.

Of note also is that most of those who had been born abroad (see Table 6.4), had stayed on in their native land for secondary education. Many of these also attended university abroad before coming to Canada. Hence Canada is a double winner. It not only obtains the skills of persons who are almost fully trained but also they do not provide an extra burden for the Canadian educational system.

Mother Tongue

In the sub-elite, persons whose mother tongue is neither English nor French are well represented. For instance, those who in childhood first learned a European language other than French (e.g. German, Polish, Dutch, Italian, etc.) make up around 10-11% of both the sub-elite and the population at large. (Table 6.6)

On the other hand, persons whose first acquired language is French are under-represented in the civil service while English speakers are well over-represented.

TABLE 6.6

Mother Tongue - A comparison of the Civil Service Sub-Elite to the Total Public Service (1961), Canadian Population Aged 25-44 (1961) and Total Canadian Population (1961)

	<u>TOTAL SUB-ELITE</u>	<u>PUBLIC SERVICE¹</u>	<u>POPULATION 25-44</u>	<u>TOTAL POPULATION</u>
ENGLISH	72	71	54	59
FRENCH	16	22	28	28
OTHER	13	7	18	14
Other European	(10.2)			(10.9)
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	296	223,779	4,870,902	18,238,247

1. W. Klein and D. Ledoux. Census Analysis of the Public Service of Canada (1961). Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Internal Research Report), 1965.

TABLE 6.7

Career Type C By European (Non-English,
Non-French) Mother Tongue

	<u>% of Total</u>		<u>% of Total</u>
ENGLISH FINANCE OFF. (N=23)	4.3	ENGLISH AGRIC. SCIENT. (N=23)	4.3
ENGLISH PATENT EX (N=27)	37.0	FRENCH AGRIC. SCIENT. (N=13)	7.6
FRENCH TRANSLATOR (N=23)	0.0	ENGLISH REVENUE PRO (N=20)	0.0
ENGLISH PUBLIC WORKS PRO (N=18)	11.1	FRENCH REVENUE PRO (N=18)	0.0

Particular career types are either more attractive to or more readily accommodate persons whose mother tongue is one of the European language groups, other than French or English. (Table 6.7) This appears to be particularly true of engineers as represented in the Patent Office and Public Works. For instance, more than a third of the English Patent Examiners first learned such a language. On the other hand, certain career routes are travelled by few or no people who did not first learn French or English. This is the case among English Finance Officers, French Translators, and the professionals in National Revenue (Accountants, Lawyers, Computer Specialists).

Urban-Rural and Social Class OriginsTABLE 6.8

Linguistic Group by Size of Place of Origin (1941)

	TOTAL	LARGE CITY 250,000+	MEDIUM CITY 50,000- 250,000	SMALL CITY 10,000- 50,000	TOWNS 2,500- 10,000	VILLAGE OR RURAL
FRENCH (N=128)	100.0	18.0	53.1	12.5	2.3	14.1
ENGLISH (N=162)	100.0	28.4	34.6	12.3	9.3	15.4

The English officers more so than the French passed their early life in very large cities. However, more than half the French were raised in medium-sized cities (50,000 - 250,000). About 14-15 per cent of both language groups spent their early days in a small village or rural area. (Table 6.8).

TABLE 6.9

Career Type C By Size of Place of Origin (1941)

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>LARGE CITY</u>	<u>MED-SMALL CITY</u>	<u>TOWN OR RURAL</u>	<u>NOT DETERMINED</u>
ENGLISH FINANCE OFF. (N=23)	100.0	34.9	34.7	30.4	0.0
ENGLISH PATENT EX (N=27)	100.0	22.2	44.4	33.3	0.0
FRENCH TRANSLATOR (N=23)	100.0	26.1	56.5	17.4	0.0
ENGLISH PUBLIC WORKS PRO (N=18)	100.0	44.4	33.3	11.1	11.1
ENGLISH AGRIC. SCIENT. (N=23)	100.0	26.1	43.5	21.7	8.7
FRENCH AGRIC. SCIENT. (N=13)	100.0	23.1	38.5	38.5	0.0
ENGLISH REVENUE PRO (N=20)	100.0	30.6	45.0	25.0	0.0
FRENCH REVENUE PRO (N=18)	100.0	27.8	66.6	5.5	0.0

Certain careerists are more likely to come from rural or small town origins than others. (Table 6.9) Nearly a third of the English Patent Examiners and Finance Officers and 38% of the French agricultural researchers come from relatively unpopulated areas. Conversely, a relatively minor proportion of French Translators and professionals in National Revenue (accountants, lawyers, computer experts) and English professionals in Public Works (engineers, architects) were brought up in such surroundings.

An attempt was also made to assess the class origins of the major language groups. Social class background is determined by the occupation, income, and education of the respondent's father. The upper and upper middle classes include those whose fathers were professionals or managers usually with a university degree and high salary. The lower middle class encompasses persons with fathers in "white-collar" or sales work. The working class contains those with a skilled tradesman, semi-skilled tradesman, or labourer as a father. A farm background includes civil servants whose father was a farm owner or labourer.

The English group contains a relatively higher proportion of persons of upper and upper middle class backgrounds than does the French. Conversely, while almost fifty per cent of the French are drawn from working or farm backgrounds, only 42% of the English are. (Table 6.10)

TABLE 6.10

Linguistic Group By Social Class Background

	<u>TOTAL</u>	UPPER + <u>UPPER MIDDLE</u>	<u>LOWER MIDDLE</u>	<u>WORKING</u>	<u>FARM</u>
FRENCH	100 (N=128)	20.3	30.5	39.8	9.4
ENGLISH	100 (N=168)	29.2	29.2	30.4	11.3

Just over forty per cent of the English had fathers of professional or managerial status, while only a quarter of the French did so. It is interesting to note, however, that about 15 per cent of both linguistic groups had fathers employed by the Federal Public Service.

Among both the French and the English, the professional-scientific and administrative career types attract a greater proportion of persons of middle-class origins than do the technical and semi-professional careers. For the former groups, just over half the French and about

60% of the English are from the middle class. Among the technical and semi-professional workers, only 39% of the French and 50% of the English are from this end of the class scale. (Table 6.11)

TABLE 6.11

Career Type A By Social Class Background

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>UPPER+</u> <u>UPPER</u> <u>MIDDLE</u>	<u>LOWER</u> <u>MIDDLE</u>	<u>WORKING</u>	<u>FARM</u>
FRENCH PRO-SCI (N=64)	100.0	23.4	32.8	32.8	10.9
ENGLISH PRO-SCI (N=88)	100.0	34.1	25.0	29.5	11.4
FRENCH ADMIN (N=32)	100.0	21.9	28.1	43.8	6.3
ENGLISH ADMIN (N=41)	100.0	24.4	39.0	24.4	12.2
FRENCH TECH (N=31)	100.0	9.7	29.0	51.6	9.7
ENGLISH TECH (N=39)	100.0	23.1	28.2	38.5	10.3

The highly-trained agricultural researchers, much more so than the other major career types, spent their early years in farm surroundings. (Table 6.12). As we shall see in a later chapter on these scientists, an intimate acquaintance with nature and farm life provides the early motive force propelling many of them into a career in agriculture. The English Patent Examiners likewise contain a relatively high percentage of persons from farm origins. The English Finance Officers are more likely to come from the upper end of the class system. Almost three quarters of them are from middle class or higher backgrounds. On the French side, the Translators are drawn from higher social origins than the other French groups and most of the English types.

TABLE 6.12

Career Type C By Social Class Background

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>MIDDLE CLASS</u>	<u>WORKING CLASS</u>	<u>FARM</u>
ENGLISH FINANCE OFF. (N=23)	100.0	73.9	21.7	4.3
ENGLISH PATENT EX. (N=27)	100.0	55.5	29.6	14.8
FRENCH TRANSLATOR (N=23)	100.0	65.1	30.4	4.3
ENGLISH PUBLIC WORKS PRO (N=18)	100.0	66.7	27.8	5.6
ENGLISH AGRIC. SCIENT. (N=23)	100.0	47.8	30.4	21.7
FRENCH AGRIC. SCIENT. (N=13)	100.0	38.5	23.1	38.5
ENGLISH REVENUE PRO (N=20)	100.0	60.0	35.0	5.0
FRENCH REVENUE PRO (N=18)	100.0	61.1	38.9	0.0

Religion and Marital Status

Participation in a particular religion usually begins fairly early in life. For the French this means overwhelmingly the Roman Catholic religion in which 94% claim membership. Six out of ten of the English belong to one of the protestant faiths, but almost a quarter are Roman Catholic. (Table 6.13)

TABLE 6.13

Linguistic Group By Religion

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>ROMAN CATHOLIC</u>	<u>PROTESTANT</u>	<u>JEWISH</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
FRENCH (N=128)	100.0	93.8	1.6	0.8	3.9
ENGLISH (N=168)	100.0	24.4	59.5	3.0	13.1
TOTAL SUB-ELITE (N=296)	100.0	35.8	50.0	2.7	11.5
TOTAL POPULATION (N=18,238,249)	100.0	46.8	41.0	1.4	10.8

Compared to the total Canadian population, the Protestants and the Jews are over-represented in the sub-elite while the Roman Catholics are under-represented. While the Roman Catholics form 47% of the total population, they contribute only 36% to the segment of the federal civil service under study.

Some work organizations attract or require single persons, while others are populated by settled, married people. The civil service is of the latter variety. (Table 6.14). Married persons account for 84% of the Canadian population between 25 and 44 years of age but nearly 88% of the sub-elite. There is a slightly larger proportion of single persons among the French than among the English. While 15% of the French are single, the figure is only 11% for the English.

TABLE 6.14

Linguistic Group By Marital Status

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SINGLE</u>	<u>MARRIED</u>	<u>WIDOWED DIVORCED</u>
FRENCH (N=128)	100.0	14.8	84.4	0.8
ENGLISH (N=168)	100.0	10.7	88.7	0.6
TOTAL SUB-ELITE (N=296)	100.0	11.5	87.8	0.7
TOTAL POPULATION AGED 25-44 (N=4,870,921)	100.0	14.4	84.1	1.4

TABLE 6.15

Linguistic Group By Size of Family

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>MARRIED NO CHILD</u>	<u>MARRIED 1-3 CHILD</u>	<u>MARRIED 4+ CHILD</u>
FRENCH (N=108)	100.0	9.3	57.4	33.3
ENGLISH (N=149)	100.0	10.7	69.1	20.1

While a third of the married French sub-elite have four or more children only one fifth of the English have families this large. (Table 6.15) The rate of childless marriages is approximately equal in both linguistic groups. The nature of family size is made clearer in the more refined breakdown in the next table.

TABLE 6.16

Career Type A By Size of Family

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>MARRIED NO CHILD</u>	<u>MARRIED 1-3 CHILD</u>	<u>MARRIED 4+ CHILD</u>
FRENCH PRO-SCI (N=49)	100.0	12.2	61.2	26.5
FRENCH ADMIN (N=30)	100.0	6.7	46.7	46.7
FRENCH TECH (N=29)	100.0	6.9	62.1	31.0
<hr/>				
ENGLISH PRO-SCI (N=79)	100.0	11.4	72.2	16.5
ENGLISH ADMIN (N=35)	100.0	8.6	71.4	20.0
ENGLISH TECH (N=35)	100.0	11.4	60.0	28.6

A relatively large 23.4% of the French professional-scientific category are not married (i.e., single, divorced, widowed, separated) compared to only 6% among both French administrators and technical experts. Of those French professionals and scientists that are married,

they have a lower rate of large families than the other two career groups (Table 6.16). Just over a quarter of them have four or more children. On the other hand, 47% of the French administrators have families this large.

While the "not marrieds" among the French are concentrated in professional-scientific careers, this is not the case among the English.

About 15% of the English administrators and 10% of the professional-scientific and technical groups are not married. Hence, the "not marrieds" are fairly evenly distributed among the three career groups.

Turning to family size among the married English, the technical and semi-professional workers have the highest proportion of large families. However, this group matches the French group with the lowest proportion of large families, the professional-scientific category. Apparently then, the familiar stereotype of large families among the French is partially supported by the Career Study findings.

Education

The type of secondary school system from which a person emerges, if he emerges at all, can have a telling effect on his later aspirations. The effect is particularly noticeable in examining French-English relations because the systems are so different. The Table below shows the type of system in which the two linguistic groups participated.

TABLE 6.17

Linguistic Group By Type of Secondary School System

	<u>Classical College</u>	<u>French Private</u>	<u>French Public</u>	<u>French Separate</u>	<u>English</u>	Other† Not <u>Indicated</u>
FRENCH (N=128)	32.8	23.4	18.0	6.3	13.4	6.2
	<u>English Public</u>	<u>English Private</u>	<u>English Separate</u>	<u>French</u>	Other† Not <u>Indicated</u>	
ENGLISH (N=168)	73.2	8.9	7.1	0.0	10.7	

On the French side, substantial groupings were located in several types of systems, the principal one being the Classical Colleges. Nearly a third of the French had attended such institutions. Of note is that about 13% of the French had passed through English schools. The majority of these persons were from the Ottawa-Hull area.

One type of school system, the Public, was attended by seven out of ten of those in the English sub-elite. Contrary to stereotypes, only a handful (9% of the English) attended private schools such as Upper Canada College, Ridley, Trinity, or others. None of the English had come up through French schools.

TABLE 6.18

Career Type A By Type of Secondary School System.
French only.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Classical College</u>	<u>English System</u>	<u>Other French*</u>
PROFESSIONAL- SCIENTIFIC (N=64)	100.0	43.8	6.3	50.0
TECHNICAL SEMI-PRO (N=29)	100.0	17.2	13.8	69.0
ADMINISTRATIVE (N=42)	100.0	29.0	29.0	41.9
<hr/>				
TOTAL (N=124)	100.0	33.9	13.7	52.4

*Includes French Public, Private, Technical or Separate Schools.

The impact of these several educational channels can be partially seen by examining the careers which the participants entered. Those French who attended classical colleges are over-represented in the professional-scientific category (Table 6.18). Those in technical, semi-professional, and administrative careers are less likely to have a classical college in their background. There seems then, to be a connection between attending this type of school system and entering a specialist career of high prestige. Of interest also is that French Administrators, more so than the two other major career types, have emerged from English schools. With a French background and English schooling they would have bilingual skills that would be very important for positions that required supervising employees. It may be that this bilingual capacity was instrumental for obtaining an administrative position. We will look further into this situation in a coming chapter.

TABLE 6.19

Career Type A By Type of Secondary School System.
English Only.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Public</u>	<u>Private</u>	<u>Other</u> *
PROFESSIONAL- SCIENTIFIC (N=88)	100.0	70.5	9.1	20.5
TECHNICAL SEMI-PRO (N=39)	100.0	71.8	7.7	20.5
ADMINISTRATIVE (N=41)	100.0	90.5	9.8	9.8
TOTAL (N=168)	100.0	73.2	8.9	17.9

*Includes those who attended French schools or English Technical and Separate Schools.

For the English careerists, there appears to be a connection between attending public schools and entering an administrative career. (Table 6.19) Eighty per cent of the administrators have such a schooling. It is not a strong connection however, since, as was noted earlier, over 70 per cent of the English sub-elite are from public schools. Private school boys are distributed fairly evenly among the three major groups.

Of prime importance for gaining entry to the sub-elite is a university education. Seven out of ten of these careerists possessed a university degree. (Table 6.20) However, the English are more highly educated than the French. While 74% of the English hold a degree only 64% of the French do so. This difference is even greater for postgraduate (M.A., Ph.D) degrees. While a quarter of the English possess such degrees, they are held by only one-sixth of the French.

TABLE 6.20

Level of Education - A Comparison of the
Civil Service Sub-Elite To The Canadian
Managerial, Professional-Technical Labour
Force, 1961.

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>SECONDARY OR LESS</u>	<u>SOME UNIVERSITY</u>	<u>UNIVERSITY DEGREE</u>
FRENCH (N=128)	100.0	19.5	16.4	64.1
ENGLISH (N=168)	100.0	16.7	9.5	73.8
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TOTAL SUB-ELITE (N=296)	100.0	17.2	10.8	72.0
<hr/>				
TOTAL MAN-PRO LABOUR FORCE (N=1,167,951)	100.0	66.8	13.0	20.2

The emphasis placed on university credentials in the higher civil service can be seen in comparison to the managerial, professional-technical labour force. Here only 20% required a degree to obtain their position compared to the 72% in the sub-elite.

TABLE 6.21

Departmental Linguistic Group

By Level of Education

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>NO UNIV DEGREE</u>	<u>FIRST DEGREE</u>	<u>POST-GRAD DEGREE</u>
FINANCE FRENCH (N=6)	100.0	33.7	16.7	50.0
FINANCE ENGLISH (N=28)	100.0	10.7	57.1	32.1
STATE FRENCH (N=33)	100.0	30.3	42.4	27.3
STATE ENGLISH (N=38)	100.0	7.9	68.4	23.7
AGRICULTURE FRENCH (N=28)	100.0	17.9	14.3	67.9
AGRICULTURE ENGLISH (N=37)	100.0	16.2	29.7	54.1
PUBLIC WORKS FRENCH (N=28)	100.0	42.9	53.6	3.6
PUBLIC WORKS ENGLISH (N=32)	100.0	31.3	46.9	21.9
NATIONAL REVENUE FRENCH (N=33)	100.0	51.5	39.4	9.1
NATIONAL REVENUE ENGLISH (N=33)	100.0	66.7	30.3	3.0

It is apparently easier for persons without a university degree to reach officer status in the large service departments (National Revenue, Public Works) than in the others (Table 6.21). Two-thirds of the English and one half of the French in National Revenue do not possess a degree; the figures in Public Works are 43% for French and 31% for English. The percentage of those with degrees is much higher in other departments. Among the English, for instance, around 90% of those in Finance and State have completed a university training. In Agriculture slightly more than 80% of both the English and French have degrees.

TABLE 6.22

Career Type By Level of Education

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>NO UNIV DEGREE</u>	<u>FIRST DEGREE</u>	<u>POST-GRAD DEGREE</u>
FRENCH PRO-SCI (N=64)	100.0	17.2	39.1	43.8
ENGLISH PRO-SCI (N=88)	100.0	6.8	52.3	40.9
FRENCH ADMIN (N=32)	100.0	50.0	37.5	12.5
ENGLISH ADMIN (N=41)	100.0	29.3	51.2	19.5
FRENCH TECH (N=31)	100.0	61.3	32.3	6.2
ENGLISH TECH (N=39)	100.0	66.7	28.2	5.1

As expected the professional-scientific group is more highly trained than the rest of the sub-elite. (Table 6.22) Only 17% of the French scientists and professionals and 7% of the English lack degrees. The administrators are next in order, however, the English are better qualified than their French counterparts. While 70% of the English have degrees only 50% of the French do so. The technical and semi-professional careerists have the largest proportion without degrees - 61% for the French and 67% for the English.

TABLE 6.23

Linguistic Group By Prestige of University Attended

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>PRESTIGE ENG-CAN</u>	<u>OTHER ENG-CAN</u>	<u>PRESTIGE FR-CAN</u>	<u>OTHER FR-CAN</u>	<u>PRESTIGE AMERICAN</u>	<u>PRESTIGE EUROPEAN</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
FRENCH (N=88)	100.0	11.4	14.8	21.6	38.6	1.1	5.7	6.8
ENGLISH (N=125)	100.0	26.4	41.6	-	0.8	4.0	8.8	18.4

It is sometimes claimed that the higher levels of the civil service are the preserve of persons drawn from a short list of prestigious universities in Canada (Toronto, Queens, McGill), the United States (the "Ivy League" and Chicago), or Europe (Oxford, Cambridge, London, Sorbonne, Bordeaux, Strasbourg). Although this might pertain at the

elite level, it is certainly not a dominant tendency in the sub-elite (Table 6.23). Just over a quarter of the English and a tenth of the French who attended a university went to one of the leading English Canadian universities (Toronto, Queens, McGill). About a fifth of the French with university experience come from one of the two major French Canadian universities, Université de Montréal or Université Laval. A prestigious American or European centre figures in the university background of but 7% of the French and 13% of the English. On the other hand, of those in the sub-elite with university training, 39% of the French and 42% of the English are drawn from lesser Canadian universities.

TABLE 6.24

Linguistic Group By Educational Specialization
(Only Those With More Than Secondary Education).

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>ARTS</u>	<u>SCIENCE- ENGIN</u>	<u>COMMERCE LAW</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
FRENCH (N=100)	100.0	27.0	39.0	31.0	3.0
ENGLISH (N=131)	100.0	24.4	62.6	13.0	0.0

A consideration of the nature of the specialized education obtained by those who went beyond secondary school reveals a marked difference between English and French. While roughly a quarter of both groups have an Arts education (humanities and social science), there is a markedly greater emphasis on Science and Engineering training among the English than the French (Table 6.24). Sixty-three per cent of the English compared to 39% of the French have such training. This situation mirrors the output of universities in Canada. English Canadian universities compared to French universities grant a much larger proportion of their degrees in the field of science. About 31% of all Bachelors and First Professional degrees granted by English language institution between 1962-65 were in "Natural Sciences" compared to 16% of degrees from French language institutions during the same period.¹

Conversely, the French in the sub-elite are much more likely to have been in Commerce or Law than are the English.

1. Herbert Taylor, "The Output of Canadian Universities and Colleges, 1962-65", Ottawa: The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, (Internal Research Report), 1966.

Review

One pertinent finding is the under-representation of French speakers, particularly Quebec French, and Roman Catholics at the sub-elite level. At least three identifiable but interdependent factors can account for this:

- (1) the lack of educational facilities of the sort that can equip them with the appropriate skills for office;
- (2) a lower motivation to serve in the federal administration than that possessed by other groups;
- (3) subtle discrimination in recruitment into the civil service or promotion into its higher ranks.

The Career Study addressed only the third point directly, but it is immensely important not to neglect differentials in access to education and in motivation to participate in the federal system in accounting for the under-representation of the French and Roman Catholics at the senior levels of the Civil Service.

The type of educational system available to French Canadians has not provided a large pool of persons with technical, scientific, and professional skills. French Catholics in Quebec, in particular, have not had access to educational facilities that prepare them adequately for work in an industrial society.¹

As to attraction toward work in the federal government, the Royal Commission has some suggestive findings in its research reports. A national interview study conducted by the Social Research Group contained enquiries about job opportunities available in the Federal Government.² It asked whether the respondent felt that English Canadians have more chances, French Canadians have more chances, or whether all have an equal chance of getting the "top" jobs in the federal government. Thirty-six per cent of the total sample felt that persons from all ethnic groups have equal opportunity. However, significantly fewer French Canadians (18%) felt that there was equal opportunity. Also, while 38% of all respondents felt that English Canadians have more chances for the best jobs, 62% of the French respondents felt that this

1. Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Ch. 6.

2. The Social Research Group, A Study of Inter-Ethnic Relations in Canada, Ottawa: Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Internal Research Report), 1965.

was the case. Only 4% of the total sample and 2.5% of the French respondents felt that French Canadians have more chances. French Canadians, then, are much more prone than other respondents to think that English Canadians have more chances than other groups of getting the best jobs in the federal administration.¹ On the grounds of perceived work opportunities alone, the French are less likely to consider federal employment. When added to this is the prospect of moving to Ottawa and having to live and work much of the time in English surroundings, it is not surprising that they are less highly motivated to join the F.P.S.

A national survey of Canadian youth 13 to 20 years of age provides further supportive findings.² The young people were queried about their attitudes to different levels of government. One question asked: "Which government would be best to work for -- if the salary was the same on each job?" The results are presented in Table 6.25.

1. Ibid., p. 76.

2. John W.C. Johnstone, Young People's Images of Canadian Society, An Opinion Survey of Canadian Youth 13 to 20 Years of Age, Ottawa: Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Internal Research Report), 1966.

TABLE 6.25

Which government would be best to work for --
if the salary was the same on each job?

	<u>Language Spoken at Home</u>		
	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>
The government of your city, town or township	28	27	27
The government of your province	22	34	19
The government of Canada	39	28	38
I'm not sure	11	11	16
TOTAL =	100%	100%	100%
N =	793	529	37

Source: John W.C. Johnstone: Young People's Images of
Canadian Society, Table I-15, p. 48.

Both groups of non-French youth rated the federal government highest as a congenial working environment. These same two groups also rated their provincial governments lowest on this standard. This indicates that the English and Other language groups view the provincial government as the one least attractive to work for. On the other hand, the French-speaking youth regard the provincial government as the most promising employer and rated the federal government on a par with local government.

Regional and age differences in attitudes toward the three levels of government were found. The French from Quebec held much more negative views of the federal government than other groups. The strongest positive feelings for a provincial government were registered by the English of British Columbia followed by the Quebec French. However, unlike the French Quebecers who downgraded the federal government, the B.C. English directed negative sentiments towards local government.

Unlike the French Quebec youth, the English Quebecers gave the provincial government a negative evaluation. The Quebec English saw their primary source of positive aid located at the federal level.

In both the English and French groups increasing age is accompanied with higher positive ratings for the provincial government. Among the French, increased age is also associated with increasing negative views of the federal government. It becomes clear, then, that as the French youth approach the age when they enter the work world, the Federal government is increasingly seen as an unattractive workplace.

It is not possible for us to gauge here the telling effects of differentials in education and motivation on the numbers of French or Catholics who are left out of the running for federal jobs. Only those for whom these barriers do not exist or have been overcome are included in this study. We are able to examine only the outcome of experiences within the civil service.

A second pertinent finding is the discovery of the wide range of social types who are enmeshed in the sub-elite. Recent immigrants, English from Western Canada, French from Ontario, persons with neither English nor French as a mother tongue, rural or village dwellers, those of working class or farm origins, people with advanced university training, and specialists from a broad spectrum of disciplines are all found here in substantial proportions. In sum, this means that the higher civil service contains persons who have experienced Canadian social life in all its diverse forms -- regional, ethnic, rural-urban, and so on. They ought, therefore, to be knowledgeable about and responsive to the varied needs and interests of persons in all sectors of Canadian society.

Persons in the sub-elite can use their special wisdom on two fronts. If they are involved in the formulation of policy for their department, they can put forward suggestions based on their past experiences. Although the departmental elite actually work out the policy with their Cabinet Minister, the sub-elite can be instrumental in deciding the direction which the policy discussion ought to take.

Secondly, in the execution of policy, items left to civil service discretion -- timing, priorities, regional variations -- can be affected by their "feel" for the nature of the Canadian social structure.

On both fronts, then, the social backgrounds of the civil servants effect the enactment of government decisions. Since the sub-elite of the Canadian federal civil service approximates being a microcosm of the society which contains it, except for the French and Roman Catholic sectors, it contains one of the important ingredients for a sympathetic understanding of developments all across the country.



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